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# TWO LECTURES

ON THE

# INQUISITION,

DELIVERED, BY REQUEST,

BEFORE THE

## YOUNG MEN'S ASSOCIATION,

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN.

BY

**I. M. IVES, D. D.**

PASTOR OF ST. JOHN'S CATHEDRAL.

MILWAUKEE:

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# LECTURE I.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—

The right of every man to perfect liberty of religion and conscience, is a modern theory, which was first imagined but little more than a hundred years ago, and of which the entire practical development has not been witnessed, even by the enlightenment of this our nineteenth century. A divergence from the standard, by which any one may have been led to believe that the relations of all human beings to the divinity, must, absolutely and exclusively, be regulated, cannot but be repugnant to his heart; and, in proportion to the depth and earnestness of his piety, the criminality of endeavoring to subvert that standard, or of setting up falsehood in the place of truth, will appear enhanced.

The fury with which the ancient Jewish people exterminated whole nations of idolators, by the immediate command of Jehovah, is, at least, a proof, that the vengeance of God, against those who do not adore him properly, has been directly committed to man, and that war, slaughter, carnage and rapine, even to "sawing them, and driving over them chariots armed with iron; and dividing them with knives, and making them pass through brick-kilns,"* as David did, may be made

* II. Kings, XII. 31.

acceptable to the Divinity. The unparalleled severity of the Mosaic code, in punishing, among the Jews themselves, errors of faith, or wilful irreverence, was undeniably decreed by infinite wisdom, for the preservation of purity of worship, in the Church of God, during the whole period before the advent of Jesus Christ. The intolerant cruelty of the Jews was so far from being a crime, that it gave them favor in the sight of God; and the weakness of mercy, in one of their Kings, was punished, by the Almighty, with the overthrow of his dynasty.*

Yet, there were required, for the justification of the Jews, in what the learned Haneberg calls the "Old Testament Inquisition,"† three absolute certainties; the absolute certainty that their own religion was the only true one, the absolute certainty that the religion or practice of their enemies was an abomination to God, and the absolute certainty that the power and duty was delegated to them, by God, of representing him on earth.

If there could have existed, upon either of these points, the slightest possibility of a doubt, the Jewish history would be a detail of the foulest atrocities ever witnessed under the sun. Persecution by any other than an infallible authority; infallibly certain of the precise correctness of its own standard; infallible in the knowledge of the odiousness to God of rebellion against it, and infallibly assured of its divinely delegated right; is a crime, so monstrous, so unnatural, so infamous, that every fibre of the heart revolts against it.

The Jews' enemies denied, of course, their possession

* I. Kings, XV, 28.

† Geschichte der biblischen Offenbarung Regensburg, 1852, S. 99.

of any one of these certainties; but that was no matter at all. The Jews knew they had them; and we, who accept the Old Testament as inspired by God, know also that they had them.

In the long series of bloody strifes, between the Jewish Church and its internal and external enemies, the Jews who perished were martyrs to their faith, and those whom they slew, were victims of their own crimes, undeserving of pity from God, or man.

The promulgation of the faith of Jesus Christ commenced in suffering, and, therefore, under humbler and more peaceful auspices; but its rigorously exclusive catholicity, and stern anathematizing of traitors within and foes without, date from the very earliest teachings of its founders. The Apostles and first teachers of Christianity, preached through the world, like humble holy despots; they never permitted a dissent from what they inculcated, nor a murmur against it. They no more doubted the certainty of what they taught, the certainty that every thing else was error, or the certainty of their own divine commission, than they doubted the existence of God himself; nor did they quail, before the spiteful and persecuting contumely of the rich, wise and respectable of their day, but wielded their power wherever they could make it felt. Their commands went forth to the faithful, under the absolute heading, "it seemeth good to the Holy Ghost and to us;"* and they treated, as Christ had told them to do, as "a heathen and a publican," every one that did not obey them. They declared that, if even "an angel from heaven" should preach differently from what they did, he was "accursed;"† and it would occupy

* Acts XV. 28. Galat. I. 8.

much time to enumerate the awful, unsparing anathemas which they fulminated, as God's vicars, against "heretics, introducers of damnable heresies," and all who dissented from their ordinances. They commanded the subject faithful, not even to associate with such; "not to receive them into their houses;" not to "wish them God speed,"* and even to make inquisition who were such, that they might avoid them.† The absolutism and severity of the New Testament rulers, were as great as that under the old law, and more effectual, although exercised in a different manner. St. Peter pronounced capital sentence, by inspiration, against Ananias and Sapphira, for a purely personal offence against God, of which only an ecclesiastical tribunal could take cognizance, and God, immediately and miraculously, confirmed his judgment, by the death of the transgressors.

Nor was christian absolutism confined to the apostolic age. The Apostles enjoined upon their successors, as Paul did upon Timothy, Titus and others, not to fall behind themselves, in unswervingly exercising the same power, and ordered them to "seek out faithful men,"‡ who might rule after them, also, in the church; whilst the mass of the people were commanded to obey, always, implicitly, their ecclesiastical superiors.§

In fact, from the apostolic epoch, through every age, until this, the nineteenth century, there has continued to exist upon earth a *noli me tangere* institution, to which familiar parlance has, at all times, accorded a monopoly of the title, the Catholic Church; which has been governed by rulers, successively claiming an absolute, infal-

* I. John, V. 10. † Romans XVI. 17. ‡ 2 Tim. II. 2. § Heb. XIII. 17.

lible, spiritual sway; which has ever professed not only to believe, but to KNOW, that its teachings are certainly true, that all other teachings are certainly false, and that uncompromising warfare with every element, within or without, in revolt against it, was certainly its bounden duty to God.

We have nothing, whatever, to do, this evening, with the question, whether these pretensions to truth and power are well, or ill founded; but our subject required that we should note, historically, the fact of their existence, before we could proceed, understandingly, to examine how that power has been exercised.

The spirit of the principle, whose modernized expression is "*cujus regio ejus religio*," is as old as the world; nor can the history of religious persecution be developed without its consideration. The policy of governments has ever been, to regard religious unity as the strongest cement of national concord; and it may safely be asserted, that there never has existed a nation, Pagan or Christian, of any race, clime, or creed, until the Constitution of the United States was framed, in which the theory of religious variety was not excluded, as dangerous to the political welfare of the state. The primitive history of our own colonies proves, that even they did not consider toleration a virtue, but a necessity; and many events, subsequent to the Revolutionary War, have demonstrated, that individual sects have only been prevented from persecuting others, by want of power.

Singularity in religion has ever been regarded as a treasonable offence; and, aside from any principle of piety, or sacred duty, has been punished, as a source of dis-

order and rebellion. Such a policy could not be defended, if the claims of the popular religion were founded on anything short of absolutely infallible certainty; but, where such certainty can be presupposed, a government would become justly obnoxious to the charge of not preventing what it knew to be subversive of the highest good of society, if it did not adopt it.

The most bloody wars that have desolated the earth, and the greatest calamities that have befallen mankind, had had their origin in crimes, veiled under the name of religion; and Christianity must, undoubtedly, recognize a point somewhere, where innovations in religion should be made penal by law-givers. Liberty of conscience would be considered no excuse, at the present day, for human sacrifices; nor do the most of us, willingly permit the polygamy of the Mormons in our country. Whenever the Church possessed certain knowledge, that errors in faith or practice, pernicious to society, existed, it was compelled to sanction the principle of their being judged by secular laws.

During the centuries of persecution, before the Church ceased to be in antagonism with the temporal power, it presented the same stern front, to the innumerable heresies which conflicted with it, that the Apostles had done. A vigilant inquisition into the conduct of its members was kept up; punishments, proportioned in severity to each offence, such as fasting, chastisement, imprisonment, or excommunication, were inflicted, and its claim to the exercise of such temporal power, was undisputed by Christians, and voluntarily submitted to.

After its christianization, the Roman Empire could

not but perceive the criminality of many offences, which had hitherto been judged by ecclesiastical tribunals only; nor, from a strictly ethical point of view, could the Church deny to the State, the right of punishing them.

But a difference, as great as that between divine and human laws, distinguished the principles, by which Church and State were respectively governed, in treating their common enemies. The chastisements of the Church were inflicted for mercy's sake, to save the offender; the State sacrificed the offender, in order to avenge its own majesty, and propitiate justice. The Church regarded the crime, less than the malice and contumacy of the criminal; the State contemplated only the wrong to be expiated, making no allowance for motives, degrees of culpability, or even repentance. The most inexorable rigor, on the part of the Church, had an unselfish and merciful end; the severity of the State was always in an inverse ratio with its security and strength. The penal canon laws, against heresy, are milder than those in any other known code; whereas the imperial edicts are frequently, in defiance of, and opposition to, the canon law, most stringently and cruelly rigorous. Though the Church has sanctioned, as just, the principle that the State should punish heretical disorders, she has waged ceaseless war against its tyranny in applying it.

Not the least among the evils with which the Church has had, from the time of Constantine, to contend, has been, that the most zealous sticklers for State Catholicity, and the most vengeful extirpators of heresy, were

those very monarchs, who were most inimical to the influence of Church power, among their own subjects.

These two elements, which compose the history of Catholic persecution, and particularly of the Inquisition, must be carefully distinguished. The Catholic Church is directly responsible for an uncompromising zeal, in preserving its doctrines inviolate, against the heresies which have arisen against it, for the anathemas and spiritual punishments, with which it has sought to eradicate them, and for sanctioning the aid it has received from Christian powers, within the limits of the Canon law; but it is not responsible for the superadded element of pure State interest, which it has always repudiated, and from which every deservedly censurable harshness derives.

The spirit of the restrictive edicts of the first Christian Emperors, against heretics, was generally conformable to the laws of the Church. The decree of Theodosius, A. D. 382, which rendered the Manichæans and Donatists liable to fines, exile, and civil disabilities, fell far short of the severity which would be exercised against them at the present day. Martial law would be justly proclaimed, by any now existing State, against movers of like tumults and seditions, and perpetrators of enormities, such as they were guilty of. Valentinian and Marcian distinguished between contumacious public teachers of heresy and their disciples; ordering that the former should be punished by death, and the latter by banishment, disgrace and fines.* Gratian, Valentinian and Theodosius subjected to the existing enact-

* Cod. l. i. tit. V. 8. de hæreticis.

ments against heresy, all who, even slightly, dissented from Catholic doctrine.* Justinian made a just and marked distinction between Manichæans and other sectarians. Whilst the latter were treated with comparative mildness, the former incurred the heaviest penalties of the law.† The influence of the Church modified, however, the severity with which these decrees were executed, and the capital penalty was rarely inflicted.

The first victims of a penal retribution, more cruel than banishment, were Catholics themselves, under the Arian rule of Constantine and Valens, the first of whom introduced incarceration, and the latter wholesale drowning, for non-conformity to Arian tenets.‡ Sanguinary measures were first resorted to, on the Catholic side, by the Emperor Maximus, who, at the instigation of Ithacius, Bishop of Ossonoba, in 385, at Treves, sentenced Priscillian, his wife, and five others, leaders of the sect called the Priscillianists, to be beheaded. Priscillian was a bad man, and the mysteries of his sect abominable and obscene; but the violence employed against him was condemned by St. Ambrose and St. Martin of Tours, the holiest men of their time, and Pope Siricius censured the Emperor, and deposed the Bishop from his Episcopate, for their short-sighted and cruel zeal.**

The history of the ancient Church is a continued detail of conflicts with its enemies, and a great portion of the writings of the early fathers are but refutations of prevailing errors; still, excepting where deviation from

* Cod. l. i. tit. V. 2. de hæreticis. † Ib. 11, 12. Cod. Just. l. i. tit. V. n. 19.
‡ *Socrates*, Hist. Eccl. Lib. IV. c. 16. *Sozomenus*, Hist. Eccl, Lib. VI. c. 14. *Theodoret*, Hist. Eccl. Lib. IV. c. 24. (Vid. Hefele, Cardinal Ximenes, Tübingen, 1851, S. 342.
** Döllinger. Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte. I. Band, S. 95,

faith was associated with outward excesses, as in the cases of the Donatists, Circumcellions and others, where St. Augustine and St. Leo invoked imperial aid, the Church generally looked with a jealous eye, upon the intervention of the secular arm. Beyond the point to which she recognized the obligation of the State to go, in protecting faith and excluding heresy, she interfered, even to protect her enemies; interposing, as Gregory VII. did, in granting an asylum to the unfortunate Berengarius,* the mercy of God as a barrier against the justice of man.

Manichæism was the only heresy—if it ought not rather to be called a hideous pagan caricature of Christianity—which both Church and State deemed undeserving of any indulgence whatsoever. We cannot, here, enter into a detail of the tenets of the Manichæans; but they constituted a species of Zoroaster-Buddhism fire-worship, united to Vedaism, on which the founder had, later, from policy, monstrously engrafted a portion of the external form, without one single principle of Christianity.† The frightful corruption, which was the necessary consequence of the teachings of this sect, was the very putrescence of immorality, which no government, scarcely anarchy itself, would have tolerated. The gross crimes, which judicial investigation disclosed among their so called *electi* justified any means necessary for their suppression.‡

In the early part of the fourth century, within fifty years of the flaying alive of its founder in Persia, this sect had made such rapid strides in the West, that it had, already, numberless adherents, in every province of

* Sporschil's Geschichte der katholischen Kirche. II. Band, S. 223.
† Döllinger's Lehrbuch. I. Band, S. 34.
‡ Ibid p. 34.—S. Augustin, Index Hæresseou p. 46.

the Roman Empire. A part of the odium, in which Christians were held by enlightened Pagans, arose from their being confounded with the Manichæans, and the similarly guilty Gnostic sects who preceded them.

Under the Pagan Emperor, Diocletian, heretics were burnt alive; and every Christian Emperor of note issued edicts against them, the increased severity of which, as late as Justinian, shows how numerous they must have still secretly been, in his time. In fact,an unbroken succession of Gnostic-Manichæan doctrines and sects may be traced, through the whole course of ecclesiastical history, down to the latest period of the Middle Ages.

In 690, internal dissensions revealed their existence, under the name of Paulicians to Justinian II, who condemned to death, by fire, those who should persist in their irregularities.* These Paulicians, whom a recent American commentator on the Apocalypse, allows himself to call a sect of true christians, "which bore full and honorable testimony to the truth, as it is in Jesus,"† succeeded to the crimes of their predecessors. We learn from both Greek and Armenian historians, whose narratives are wholly independent of each other, that the vilest abominations were practiced in their nocturnal assemblies; that they rejected the Old, and a large portion of the New Testament, worshipped the sun, and that their teachings, concerning our Saviour, were a mass of odious blasphemies. Like all Manichæan sects, both before and after them, they looked upon lying, to avoid punishment, or to promulgate their creed, as permitted.‡

* Döllinger's Lehrbuch. I. Band, S. 344, u. fg.

† Notes on the Book of Revelations, by Albert Barnes, p. 318.

‡ Hallam admits that they "revived the Manichæan theory;" "ascribed the creation of the world to an evil deity;" concerning the incarnation of Christ

In the year 770, Baanes, their chief, acquired the name of "The Filthy," on account of his shameless vices, and it had fallen into such deep and public degradation of morals, that it appeared on the point of self-destruction. Tychicus, the successor of Baanes, caused himself to be worshipped as the Paraclete. He was slain in 835, and the Paulicians had then become so obnoxious and dangerous to the government, that the Grecian Empress, Theodora, resolved to convert, or to destroy them. During her reign, a hundred thousand of these hereties must have been hanged, beheaded, or drowned. Carbeas, however, one of their leaders, with five thousand followers, found refuge in the dominions of the Caliphs;* and, being continually reinforced by malefactors, who fled to them for asylum, they became the curse and scourge of the Asiatic provinces. In 969 the Emperor, John Zimisces, finally succeeded in transplanting the de-

were Dochetists, and "denied the reality of his death and resurrection."—*Middle Ages, c.* 9, *p.* 503. Gibbon, who praises them, says they were dualistic; "abhorred the Old Testament, as the fabulous and absurd invention of men and demons;" detested St. Peter, and rejected his epistles, on account of the strife between St. Paul and that Apostle; subverted Christian doctrine concerning Jesus Christ, and practised dissimulation to hide their tenets.—*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, c.* LIV.—Mosheim admits that they were a Gnostic sect, "allied to the Manichæans."—*Murdoch's Mosheim P. II c. V. p.* 266; and so does *Landulphus Sagax*, who says, Hist. Misc., L. XXIV. Manichæ qui nunc Pauliciani dicuntur. See also Hurter, Geschichte Pabst Innocenz des Dritten. II. S. 209. The learned and scrupulously exact Dollinger, whose sources of information are Photiusadv. Paulianistas, Petrus Siculus, Johannes Ozniensis, etc., gives details of the Paulicians, which prove their identity with the Manichæans, and that they were guilty of the crimes of that sect.—Lehrbuch, I. Bd. 343—346.

*For an interesting account of the Manichæans under the Mahommedans, see Muhammed's Religion, von Döllinger. S. 115, u. ff. The author quotes the following advice of a Caliph to his Son, from the Camel of Ibn-athir. "Then Caliph Mahdi spake to his son Hadi: When thou art at the head of the Kingdom, bestow every care to extirpate the sects of the followers of Manes. They begin by preaching laudable actions, such as to avoid vice, forsake the world and prepare for a future life. Soon they teach, further, to abstain from meat, from touching clean water and from killing insects. Then they inculcate the adoration of the two principles, of darkness and of light. Finally, they allow their disciples to marry their sisters and daughters, dictate obscene washings, and teach them to kidnap children in order to withdraw them from darkness and put them under the influence of light."

scendants of these fugitives into the country of Phillippopolis, in Thrace, from whence they soon began to propagate their infamous errors, and make a formidable appearance, in Western Europe.

All the circumstances connected with their history indicate, that the Gnostic associations, which appeared in France and Belgium, in the beginning of the 11th century, came through Italy, from Thrace. Their first appearance, in France, was, simultaneously, at Orleans, and Arras ; in the first of which places they were planted by an Italian woman, and in the latter, also, by an Italian, whose name was Gandolfo.*

The progress, in West Europe, of the sects, which, took, subsequently, the names of Albigenses, Cathari or Puritani, Luciferians, Paterenes, etc., and with whom, at a later period, a large portion of the Waldenses† became partially identified, caused the estab-

* Hurter, Geschichte Pabst Innocenz des Dritten. II. B., S. 210.—Döllinger's Lehrbuch III. B. S. 83.

† The errors of the Waldenses included, originally, no part of the fundamental doctrines of the Manichæans In their teaching and practice they more nearly resembled the ancient Donatists; but. within fifty years of the time of Peter Waldo, common hatred against the Church of Rome had so closely united them with the Albigenses, in the South of France, that Hurter says (Innoc. III. 2 Bd. S. 225) theyformed but one party and that their similarity of practice and teaching precluded the possibility of distinguishing between them. Contemporary writers confound the two sects, and *Ebrard*, contra Waldenses, does not discriminate between the Waldenses and the Cathari. This was greatly owing to the habit of dissimulation common to both ; but the more ignorant sectaries were probably themselves unaware of the respective tendencies of the two heresies. Yet the Inquisitors, usually, found the Waldenses less guilty than the Albigenses, and they were, says *Hallam*, (p. 506) dealt with more leniently on that account. It is, nevertheless, recorded in the Gesta Trevirorum, Vid. Binterims Deutsche Concilien. Bd. iv. S. 296) that the Waldenses, at Treves, were addicted to the same crimes as the Cathari ; that "some married their own mothers, asserting that incest could be absolved for eighteen denars," practised demon worship, etc. To conceal themselves, they gave their Bishop, who appears to have presided, in common, over Albigenses, Cathari and Waldenses, the same name as the Catholic Bishop of the Diocese, Theodoric, and elected a Pope with the name of the Roman Pope, Gregory ; so that, when asked what they believed, they could truly reply, that they held the same faith with Pope Gregory, and their Bishop Theodoric. See also, Die christliche Mystik, von Görres, III. B. S. 54, for extracts, made by Dollinger, from the Acts of the Inquisition, in the Royal Library at Paris, which clearly prove that the Waldenses of Artois were likewise devil worshippers, and guilty of many atrocities. The Waldenses

lishment of the first so called INQUISITION; and it is indispensable that we should enquire into their character, and the relation they bore to both Church and State, in order to estimate the merit or demerit of that Institution. The various appellations by which they were distinguished, had their origin in nick-names bestowed by popular caprice, names of places or of individuals, or even of qualities, which they pretended to possess; but there existed no difference, whatever, among them, in their fundamental Manichæan principles.

History relates, that those heretics who were first discovered, in the year 1022, at Orleans, denied the Catholic doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, rejected the necessity of Baptism, asserted the eternal existence of the world, thought that God did not punish for sins of lust and sensuality, and that, by the imposition of hands, all sins were forgiven, and the gifts of the Holy Ghost imparted. They practiced demon worship, and, in their nocturnal assemblies, committed the disgraceful debaucheries, peculiar to the Manichæan sects.* They commenced their religious rites by chanting litanies to long lists of devils, until a toad, a cat, or some other small beast, which they supposed to be a demoniac incarnation, appeared in their midst. The lights were then extinguished, and they delivered themselves up to the most sacrilegious, and even incestuous orgies. If a child were born, in consequence of their mutual

were, everywhere, peculiarly obnoxious to the legal authorities; because they rebelliously asserted, according to Reiner, that "princes and judges were damned who condemned malefactors." They agreed with Protestant sects, of the present day, in scarcely any other respect than asserting the Church of Rome to be Anti-Christ For a full refutation of the contrary theory, see *Maitland's* Waldenses, *Bossuet's* Variations, *Hurter*, and every respectable ecclesiastical history.

* Döllinger's Lehrbuch, III. B. S. 5.83.

crimes, it was burnt on the eighth day. Its ashes were considered holy relics, and, by a species of cannibalism, were administered, internally, as a cure for all diseases.* When their existence was first discovered to King Robert of France, by Count Richard, it was found that several of the most distinguished among the clergy, belonged to the sect.

After vain attempts had been made by a Synod, convoked at Orleans by the King, to convert them, the priests were degraded, and all were condemned to be burned. They, nevertheless, so confidently expected that evil spirits would preserve them from the flames, that, when they felt the fire, they cried out that they had been cheated by the Devil.

The Sectarians, at Arras, were less stubborn, and were all, when discovered, converted by the Bishop of that city.†

Eight years later, between 1028–30, an association of Manichæans was discovered, by the Archbishop of Milan, which added to the other errors of the sect, the belief that a violent death was absolutely essential to salvation; so that they committed suicide, rather than die of any disease. These deluded wretches, in spite of the protestations of the Archbishop, and his utmost endeavors to save them, were seized upon by the Milanese nobility, and, without exception, executed.‡

By order of Henry III, other Gnostics were executed, in 1052, at Goslar, in Germany; but, from that time, to the close of the eleventh century, we have no further account of them in Western Europe.§

* *Gesta Synodi Aurelianensis*, c. ann. 1017, in Dacherii Specileg. T. I. p. 604–606.—(Vid. Görres Bd. III, S 42.) † Döllinger B. III. S. 84. ‡ Ibid. § Ib.

In Eastern Europe, however, they were acquiring new strength and restored vigor. The sect of the Bogomiles, an offshoot of the Paulicians, originated, about this time, at Philippopolis. A most accurate account of the errors of these heretics, taken from the declaration of their chief, at Constantinople, is left to us by the Monk Zigabenus, and it is difficult to imagine a more horrible medley of blasphemies, devil-worship and systematized crime, than is afforded by that narration.* Philippopolis, thenceforth, became a Gnostic metropolis, from which, after the beginning of the twelfth century, Manichæism was poured forth, by a thousand streams, into every nation and province in Europe.†

The Crusaders, especially, contributed to supply every town and fireside with Bogomile missionaries. Multitudes of corrupted visionaries, who had been seduced by the united charms of mystery, secrecy, and danger, returned to their homes, zealous to promulgate the religious obscenities and philosophically garbed blasphemies, with which their minds had become poisoned. They brought with them mysterious books, and the most phantastical apocrypha, and painted, in glowing colours, the ravishing superiority, over Christianity, of the Eastern association.‡

In 1101, Manichæism reappeared in the south of France, in the Diocese of Agen, and, in 1115, it displayed itself in the Diocese of Soissons, in the same revolting forms in which it had been condemned, by the Synod

* *Wolfii*, Historia Bogomilorum, Vitemberg, 1712, contains the Greek text of Zigabenus. (Vid. Döllinger, ut supra, S. 80 )

† "From this settlement," says *Hallam*, "they silently promulgated their Manichæan creed, over the Western regions of Christendom."—*Middle Ages*, p. II. c. IX. 504.

‡ *Evervini* Epist. in Bernardi, Opp. I. 1492 (Vid. Döllinger, S. 87) *Gibbon* says:

of Orleans, a century previous. In 1121, it was introduced into Treves, and, in 1144, into Luttich.* About the year 1140, an admonition, by the Monk Heribert, against Gnostics in Perigord, appeared contemporaneously with a report, by the Provost Emerwin of Steinfelden, to St. Bernhard, of the progress which their abominable intrigues were making in the Diocese of Cologne. In 1166, thirty persons of the sect went over to England, where, upon being discovered, they were sentenced by the king, to be branded, scourged and banished.†

The North of Italy and the South of France were, however, the principal seats of the heresy, and it spread so secretly and effectually, that, at the close of the twelfth century, both civil and ecclesiastical governments were undermined by its innovations—innovations, in their tendency, more destructive to morality and civilization, than paganism itself. In 1167, encouraged by the ignorance and pusillanimity of the Catholic Clergy, they boldly held an assembly, at St. Felix of Caraman, near Toulouse, at which Niketas, an Oriental, a superior of the sect, administered the "*Consolamentum*," appointed Bishops, parcelled out Dioceses, and laid the foundation of a regular administrative system.‡

"Three different roads might introduce the Paulicians into the heart of Europe. The pilgrims who visited Jerusalem, might safely follow the course of the Danube: in their journey and return they passed through Phillippopolis; and the sectaries, disguising their name and heresy, might accompany the French or German caravans to their respective countries. Under the Byzantine standard, the Paulicians were often transported to Italy and Sicily, ..... and their opinions were silently propagated in Rome, Milan and the Kingdoms beyond the Alps. The trade and dominion of Venice pervaded the coast of the Adriatic, &c.."—*Decline and Fall*, c. LIV.—*Hallam* states, p. 564, that "the Paulicians may be traced up the Danube through Hungary and Bavaria, sometimes taking the route of Lombardy, into Switzerland and France. In the last country, and especially in its southern and eastern provinces, they became conspicuous under a variety of names: such as Catharists, Picards, Paterins, *but, above all, Albigenses*."—Hurter, Binterim, Görres etc., trace the origin of Manichæism, in Europe, in the same manner.

* Döllinger. S. 88. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid, 89.

And now we see, that under whatever names they were known, the different secret societies, which sprung up in the twelfth century, in every part of Europe, were, indiscriminately, Manichæan sects.* In France, they were called, from their origin, Bulgarians; in some parts of Italy, Publicans, a corruption of the word Paulicians; in the provinces where they were most numerous, Provincials, or, after 1208, Albigenses, from the town of Albi in Languedoc; in the Milanese Territory, Cathari, i. e, the Pure,† or Paterenes and Paterinians, a name which they had usurped from the antisimoniacal catholic church party in Milan;‡ in Belgium, Piphiler or Weavers, from the trade which the greater number of them followed, and sundry other names; but the generic term, Manichæans, was given to them, universally, and was accepted by themselves, in their disputations with Catholics.§ According to Rainer Sacchoni, they numbered sixteen central organizations: two at Constantinople, one

* It would be impossible to give the names of all the sects into which they were subdivided. Among them, besides the above, were the Passagimans, Beghards, Sottulares, Sabbatati, Insabbatati, Turlupini, Apostolicans, Truants, Papelades, Stedingers, Sorciers, Runkarians, Sicards, Leonists, Ribaux, Speronists, Arnaldists, Albanians, Baranoles, Cornists, Ortholines, etc, etc.—*Reiner* says, Summa de Catharis, there were over seventy kinds, and *Evrard* counts up a long list of names and opinions.—*Hurter* states that, during the Albigensian war, they were all known, in Languedoc, by the name of Albigenses. (Vid. Hurter, S. 212. 225.) In Germany, on the contrary, some writers include Manichæans and Waldenses under the name of Beguins. (Vid. Binterim IV. 319.)

† Thus Döllinger; but other writers derive the word Cathari differently.—*Alanus de Insulis* makes it come *a Catto*: quia osculantur posteriora Catti, in cujus specie, ut aiunt, appareret eis Lucifer.—Hurter. Innoc. III. II. 210.

Their name is connected, by other authors, with still worse crimes of which they were guilty.—Binterim's Deutsche Concilien, B. IV. S 151.—For proof of their cat worship, see extracts, in the same author, from *Alberici trium fontium monachi chron*, ad ann. 1233, concerning the Luciferians. Ibid p. 300.

‡ Döllinger, III. B., S. 89.

§See *Murdock's Mosheim*, Vol. II. B. III. p. 256. 266.—In Fletcher's notes to De Maistre's first letter on the Inquisition, the following quotation from Mosheim is also given, which appears to have been omitted by his translators.—" Certain writers," says Mosheim, "who have accustomed themselves to entertain a high idea of the sanctity of all those who, in the middle ages, separated themselves from the Church of Rome, suspect the inquisitors of having attributed falsely impious doctrines tothe Albigenses. But this suspicion is entirely groundless. Their shocking

of the Latins, and one of the Greeks; four, Sclavonian, Bulgarian, Drugurian and Philadelphian, in the valley of the Danube; six in Italy, of Concorreggio, Bagnola, Treviso, Florence, Spoleto and Albania; and four in France, one in the north, and, in the south, those of Toulouse, Carcassone and Albi.*

With the exception of two, they were all dualistic. The organizations of Bagnola and Concorregio, which were what is now called monarchist Manichæans, instead of holding with the rest, that there is a God of darkness, coeternal with, and, practically, more powerful than the God of light, asserted that Lucifer is, indeed, inferior to God; but, nevertheless, created the world, and is the Jehovah of the Old Testament.†

Upon most other points they were agreed, unanimously rejecting all the sacraments, mysteries and dogmas of the Christian religion,‡ refusing to accept the principal part of Scripture,§ forbidding marriage in

violation of decency was a consequence of their pernicious system. They looked upon decency and modesty as marks of inward corruption. Certain enthusiasts amongst them maintained that the believer could not sin, let his conduct be ever so horrible and atrocious."—Eccl. Hist. vol. iii. Mosheim's notes are the most valuable part of his work; yet a great portion of them have been omitted in English, and others substituted in their place.

*Hallam* rebukes those Protestant church historians who deny the Manichæism of these sects. He says: "The proof of Manichæism among the heretics of the twelfth century is so strong that I should never have thought of arguing the point, but for the confidence of some modern ecclesiastical writers. What can we think of one who s ys, 'It was not unusual to stigmatize new sects with the odious name of Manichæans, though I know no evidence that there were any real remains of that sect in the twelfth century.' Milner's H. of the ch. III. 380. The tenets ascribed to them *by all contemporary authorities* coincide so remarkably with those held by the Paulicians, and in earlier times by the Manichæans, that I do not see how we can reasonably deny what is confirmed by separate and uncontradictory testimonies." - *Europe during the Middle Ages*, C. IX. p. 504.

* Döllinger, II. B., S. 90. † Ibid S 92.

‡ Hurter, II. Bd. S. 216. They called Baptism a snare of the Devil, maintained that oaths were sinful (217. 231) and that the other sacraments were deceitful and satanic.—Döllinger, III. Bd. S. 91.

§ Hurter, II. Bd. S. 215.219. They ridiculed every part of the Old Testament, and the Albigenses, at the storming of Besiers, threw the Bible, from the walls of the city, supermingentes, with the words, "Here you rascals, take your law."

such a manner that their precept led to the most degrading crimes, and, as Dochetists, denying the reality of the existence of Jesus Christ.

Their social usages were the same. Their principal religious ceremony was the so called "*Consolamentum*," a baptism of the Holy Ghost, which, as they rejected Baptism by water, was administered by the laying on of hands.* The reception of the "*Consolamentum*" was the turning point in the life of a Manichee. From that moment, the consoled, consecrated, perfect, or pure, as they were differently styled, were supposed to dedicate themselves to a life of entire continence, abstemiousness and mortification. They were obligated to abstain from marriage and animal food, could kill no fowl or quadruped, and, in case of perseverance, considered themselves entitled to eternal happiness.†

As, however, the greater number of the sect preferred remaining in the lower and more comfortable rank of simple "*Believers*," the "*Consolamentum*" was rarely bestowed, except in danger of death; a delay which gave rise to one of the most frightful atrocities of which they were guilty. To provide against the inconstancy of the patient, the "*Endura*" was introduced, which originated in the already mentioned Manichæan theory of the advantage of a violent and voluntary death. The "*Endura*" consisted in starving the sufferer to death, opening his veins, or depriving him of life, in some other unnatural way. It is related by Pseudo-Rainer that the question was put to the sick man,

* The *Consolamentum* was usually preceded by a public confession of past sins. Hurter, Bd. II., S. 220.
† Döllinger, III. Bd. S. 93.

whether he preferred being a martyr, or a confessor. If he replied the former, he was strangled, and if the latter, his death, was hastened by starvation.* This hideous delusion prevailed to so great an extent that parents exposed their children, and children their parents, to the *Endura*, in order to hasten them to a happy end.†

Rainer, who wrote in the middle of the thirteenth century, and who had been, himself, for sixteen years, a Manichæan, relates, that, at his time, there were not, altogether, four thousand perfect or consoled, of both sexes, in the whole sect; but that it contained legions of simple believers.‡ The great enticement for these was, that they could surrender themselves, fearlessly, to unbridled license and debauchery, in the dream that the laying on of hands would, ultimately, cancel every sin. Rainer remarks, that he never, in a single instance, during his sixteen years of discipleship, met a member of the sect who appeared troubled on account of the infamies he had perpetrated; but that he heard many of the "consoled" lament that they had not indulged more licentiously, whilst they had been "believers."§

All of the sect regarded oaths as sinful, and incest as no worse than marriage;‖ and the records which remain, of the frightful judicial developments of the age, testify to what appalling enormities this execrable fallacy gave rise.** The "believers," however, were not the only transgressors; for the "consoled," if they fell,

*For many examples, see Liber sententiar. Inquisitionis Tolosanæ (ap. Limborch hist Inquis.) p 33. 104, 154, 143. (Vid. Döllinger, III. Bd. S. 94.) Hurter, II. Bd. S. 223.

† Hefele, in Wetzer und Welte. I. B. Albigenser. S. 144.

‡ *Reineri* Summa ap. d'Argentré, Collect. judicior. I. 51. Vid. Döllinger, III. Bd. S. 94. § Hurter, II. Bd. S. 223. ‖ Ib.

‖ Döllinger, III. Bd. S. 94.—Binterim IV. Bd. S. 287.290 ꝛc. —

** Hurter, II. Bd. S. 214.219.238.—He quotes Lucas Tudensis adv. Albi-

could be restored again to their purity, by a renewal of the "*Consolamentum*."*

A bull of Gregory IX, in 1229, bears testimony to the fact that the devil-worship, which we have already mentioned, was notorious, in his time; and that, in their assemblies, they looked for the real or pretended appearance of a demon, in the shape of a toad, cat, or some other beast.†

They treated the Bible with most shameful indecency, and records have been left us of filthy desecrations of

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geneses. Hugo Ep. Rothm. S. Bernhard, &c., as asserting their debaucheries.—Döllinger, III. Bd. S. 94. The incestuous orgies of the Manichæans, are described by writers of the 12th and 13th century, wholly independent of each other, and in every part of Europe. For the hideously profligate history of Tanquelin, and the crowds of disciples he drew after him, in the whole country of Utrecht, see *Balmes* p. 250, and the record, taken from contemporary sources, in Binterims Deutsche Concilien. IV. Bd. S. 141. The Abbot Trithem, Chronic, Hirsaug, ad ann. 1163, sp. Binterim, relates of the Manichæans, near Cologne; Luxuriam in er se quocunque modo vel cum quacumque persona commissam, hoc est cum matre, cum sorore, aut cum filia dicebant non esse peccatum, allegantes illud apostoli: *Omnia munda mundis.* Ob id quoque se mundos et spiritu S. plenos, quidquid facere, non peccare dicebant. *Rainer* cap VI., 30, says of the Runkarians; Dicunt, quod a cingulo deorsum non committatur mortale peccatum, quia Dominus dicit, quod *ex corde* procedunt fornicationes. This last opinion was held by many Manichæan sects. (Vid. Binter. IV. Bd. S. 287.290.)—Trithem records of the Manichæans of Strasbourg, called Rustards: Confessionem et poenitentiam contemnebant, dicentes se mundos atque sanctissimos, cum tamen omni spurcitia et impuritate pleni essent, maximis et abominandis sceleribus maculati etc. Volentes omnia inter se communia habere, etiam uxores, matres et filias indifferenter polluerunt, nec licebat coitum postulanti alicui inter eos denegare.—Vid. Binter. 290.

* Vid. Hurter, II. Bd. S. 220.—Döllinger, III. Bd. S. 94. The *Consolamentum* was not only renewed after the consoled had sinned; but also when doubt arose, concerning the sanctity of the *Consolator*—the name given to the performer of the ceremony. This latter belief, that the services of any other than a perfect *Consolator* were unavailing, caused a very frequent laying on of hands, among the "perfect" themselves.

† Vid. Binterim, IV. Bd. S. 299.300.302.303, und Görres, Christliche Mystik III. Bd. S. 41.42.54. ꝛc.—for the most odious details of this obscene worship—see also, the answer of Pope Gregory IX. (*Raynald* annal. eccles. ad ann. 1232. N. VIII) to the Arch-Bishops of Cologne, Mayence and Treves. In Bremen, the government and Bishop petitioned the Pope to interfere against certain Manichæans who adored the Devil, under the name of Asmodeus, as the God of liberty. Illi fuerunt Sectatores hereseum, adoraverunt Asmodeum, id est, Diabolum. *Wolter. Chronic. Bremens.*—Ante victoriam posuerunt idolum Asmodei ad occidentem et in contemtum Dei adoraverunt. Idolum etiam Ammon in ecclesiam S. Ægidii in B rna statuerunt. *Chronic. Rasted.* p. 98. (Vid. Binter. IV. Bd. S. 312.) Some of the accounts of devil worship, given by Binterim, from annals of the 12th and 13th century, are too shocking for repetition.

the sacred volume, particularly by the Albigenses, which may not be thought of, much less repeated.*

They utterly rejected the hallowing of the first day of the week, asserting that Sunday was no better than any other day.†

That crime, however, which, above all others, rendered these Manichæan sects dangerous, and not only aided in their rapid propagation, but contributed to their preservation, was their inculcated hypocrisy.‡

So long as they could find impunity, their arrogance knew no bounds. They assassinated priests, polluted churches and sacred utensils, drove Bishops from their sees, openly rebelled against the State, and the filthiest and most obscene sacrileges were those in which they delighted the most.§ But, as soon as they apprehended danger, they crowded to the Churches, remained there for hours on their knees, received the sacraments, and asseverated that they were the purest of Christians. They were true to the principle which they had inherited, that secrecy and deceit became virtues, when used against their enemies. ‖

Thus Manichæism menaced Europe. Every province had become filled with sectators of a monstrous devil-worship, which set up as virtues, murder, patricide, matticide, infanticide, and even cannibalism; in which incest,

* Hurter, III. Bd. S. 215.222.ꝛc.

† They denied, in fact, the necessity of any external worship whatsoever. Vid. Hefele, in Welte und Wetzer, ut sup.—Hurter, II. Bd. S. 230.

‡ Hurter. II. Bd. S. 220.221.223.233, details some of the arts to which they resorted for concealment.

§ Hurter. II. Bd. S. 222. *Balmes*, p. 252. cites an eye-witness, Stephen, Abbot of St. Genevieve, "who describes to the King, who had sent him to Toulouse, the acts of violence committed by these sectaries: 'I have seen on all sides," he says, 'churches burnt and ruined to their foundations: I have seen the dwellings of men changed into the dens of wild beasts.' "

‖ Hurter. II. Bd. S. 223.

and every species of unnatural and revolting debauchery were unscrupulously practised; in which morality was scoffed and jeered at; in which adoration of the devil was blasphemously substituted for the universal belief of ten centuries;* in which every private tie in life was severed, every sacred object desecrated, vice exalted, and conscience annihilated; in which every human right was trampled upon, every duty of citizenship despised; and the first principles of which made its adherents, if it suited them, perjured traitors in every christian State, and perfidious enemies of the Christian Church. And all this, varnished over with falsehood and subtle deceit, with full privilege to pretend to abhor and repudiate the tenets, which their existence was dedicated to support.

Truly, it was no time for States to be imbecile, or for the Church to be sluggish. Swift action, in searching out and converting, or extirpating, these more monstrous savages than the devotees of Juggernaut, was urgent and indispensable, in order to save Europe from the most obscene paganism, which had ever menaced civilization. If there is, on earth, an infallible church, and she does not come forward now, let her never dare to raise her voice in the world again. If the State does not smite with a keenly sharpened sword, and the church hesitates to thunder forth its anathemas now, they must answer, to God and mankind, for the perdition of the world, and the re-inthralment of Christendom in Barbarism. Infallible truth never was called upon, if not now, to denounce what is infallibly wrong, and to raise a barrier against

* *Hurter* states that before a person was fully admitted to their sects, he was obliged solemnly to abjure the Christian faith.

crimes, for which God might justly doom a universe to destruction.

In fact, it was effectually to meet the exigencies of that critical time, and to uproot Manichæism, in spite of the wiles, subterfuges, and hypocrisy to which it resorted for concealment, that the church established the court of inquiry, which has since been known by the name of the INQUISITION.

Previous to the thirteenth century, it had never been deemed necessary to commit the trial of heretics to an especially appointed and permanent tribunal. The heresy was condemned by a council, synod, or episcopal court, and those who contumaciously adhered to it, were prosecuted and punished by the civil authorities. But the inefficacy of the first celebrated edict against them, proved that extraordinary means were requisite, in order to withstand the progress of the Manichæans.

This edict was issued, in 1179, by the eleventh œcumenical council, under Alexander III: it excommunicated the Cathari, Patarenes and Publicans, near Albi and Toulouse, for seducing "weak and silly people" into their errors, and condemned, in Arragon, Navarre and the Biscayan provinces, similar heretics, who had been guilty of cruelties, "in which they spared neither churches, widows nor orphans," to confiscation of property, and serfdom, in case they persisted in such crimes; exhorting the faithful to repel with arms their violence.*

The conference of Verona, which was held in 1182 or 1183, before Lucius III. and the Emperor Frederic

* *Harduin*, Collectio Concil, T. vi. P I. p. 1683.

Barbarossa, gives the first indications of a consciousness that the secret crimes of the Manichæans could only be reached by an authorized system of inquiry. It directed the Bishops to visit personally, or by their Archdeacons, the infected parts of their Dioceses, and to bind, by oath, three or four men of integrity, to seek out and make known to them all persons whe frequented secret associations, or exhibited singularity in their religious opinions. It again published the ban, against the different sectaries, preachers of heresy, and those who should harbor them, condemned heretical priests to be degraded, and all heretics, who should refuse to recant their errors, to be delivered over to the secular arm. It was enjoined, however, that even relapsed heretics should be pardoned, if they repented of their crimes.*

The twelfth œcumenical council, the fourth of Lateran, under Innocent III, in 1215, energetically reprobates the infamous practices of the Manichæans, and prescribes, as a strict duty, that the Bishops should make Inquisitorial visitations in their respective territories.† The germs of the court of the Inquisition, which was established twelve years later, at the close of the war against the Albigenses, were contained in these judicial journies.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century, no part of Europe had become so undermined by heresy as the south France, where the Manichæans were either protected, or their tenets adopted, by powerful nobles, like Raymond VI, of Toulouse, and where even the Catholic Episcopate and clergy were too apathetic and wicked to oppose

* *Harduin*, l. c. p. 1878—1880. † *Harduin*, T. VII, p. 19—22.

them.* Many of the clergy were, themselves, privately affiliated to this detestable sect.

Innocent III. was too wise a Pontiff to imagine that, under such circumstances, force alone could be an adequate remedy for the evil. He, therefore, appointed, in Languedoc, Peter of Chateau-neuf, the abbot Arnold of Citeaux, and a lay brother named Rudolf, three Cistercians, of unquestioned virtue and ability, as his legates, and as missionaries to instruct and convert the people. Teaching was their principal occupation; but they were also invested with plenary power, to rouse Bishops and civil authorities to the performance of their duty; were ordered to excommunicate them, if negligent, and, in every respect, to make such dispositions, as they deemed would most effectually suppress the heresy.†

In 1206, they were reinforced by twelve other Cistercian Abbots, the Spanish Bishop, Diego of Osma, and his priest, Domingo Guzman.

The last of these, who, subsequently, founded the order of the friar-preachers, was the renowned St. Dominic, whom many friends and enemies have falsely asserted to have been the first Grand Inquisitor. There is not a particle of evidence that St. Dominic was, even

* The following testimony, concerning the character of the Albigenses, is the more valuable, because of the avowed enmity to the Inquisition, of the distinguished author from whom it is taken. "Tous ceux à qui leurs passions rendaient insupportables le frein des lois humaines, vinrent à la fin se ranger sous les bannières des novateurs, et furent acceuillis par une secte avide de s' agrandir, de se fortifier, et toujours disposée à regarder, comme ses partisans et ses défenseurs, les hommes que la société rejetait de son sein, qui redoutaient la justice et ne pouvaient supporter l'ordre établi. Ainsi les prétendus réformateurs du xiii. me siècle, en proclamant le triomphe de la vérité et de la vertu, admettaient dans leur sein la corruption et la license, détruisaient tout espèce de règle et d' autorité, abandonnaient tout au caprice des passions, ne laissient aucun lien à la société, aucune force à la morale, aucun frein à la multitude."—*Michaud*, Histoire des Croisades. T. III. Liv, XII, p. 375.

† Hefele. Der Cardinal Ximenes. S. 247.248.—Hurter. II. Bd. S. 276—282.

indirectly, concerned in the establishment of the Inquisition, which was not founded until after his death. He was, simply, an ardent, enthusiastic preacher of the Catholic faith, who did not even share the authority of the three legates. His great fame is owing to his superiority, in zeal, talents, and success, over his co-laborers.*

The peaceable endeavors of these missionaries were frustrated by the violence of their adversaries. In the year 1208, Peter of Chateau-neuf was butchered by the heretical nobility. The last words, spoken by this saintly man, to an assassin, who plunged a sword into his side, were: "May God pardon thee, my friend, as I pardon thee.†"

The indignation which this deed excited, extended throughout all Europe, and it was resolved upon, by Pope Innocent III. and the King of France, to oppose violence to violence. War was declared, and an army, under the Legate Milo and Count Simon of Montfort, marched, in 1209, against the Albigenses.‡ There never was a more just war§ and, if these two commanders had possessed the proper qualifications, it might have been the means of averting from Europe great future misery. But their selection was very unfortunate. The war was conducted, by Count Simon, to subserve his own private ambition, and the papal legate was a weak man, who

* Hefele. 248.

† *Fleury*, Hist de l'Eglise l. LXXVII. § XXXVI.

‡ Hefele, in Welte und Wetzer. Albigenser. I. Bd. S. 144.

§ *Balmes*. p 255, says that the Albigenses "associated with the celebrated bandits called *Cottereaux*, and feared not to commit all sorts of excesses, as they had seduced some Knights and had secured the protection of some seigneurs of the country of Toulouse; they succeeded in exciting a formidable insurrection, which could be repressed *only by force of arms*." *Michaud*, T. III. p. 377, says, that Innocent hesitated to join the crusade, but was compelled "by the opinion of the clergy, and perhaps by that of the *entire age*."

lacked courage to withstand the unpardonable cruelties of his colleague. A man of more energy, who was sent by Innocent III. to replace him, was gained over by, and made common cause with Count Simon; so that the Pope was finally placed in the contradictory position of being compelled to protect the Manichæan leader, Count Raymond of Toulouse, against the outrages of his own army! It became, at length, a purely political contest, and did not close, until the year 1227.*

The consequence of the manner in which it had been conducted was, that when the country of the Albigenses was subdued, heresy had become more malignant and atrociously criminal than it had ever been before, and the necessity had increased of effectually opposing the evils with which it menaced society. The hypocrisy of its adherents kept such equal pace with their infernal orgies and hellish crimes, that it was difficult to bring them to justice, even where their excesses were most notorious.

In the year 1229, therefore, the tribunal of the INQUISITION was formally established.

In 1229, a great synod was held at Toulouse, in the presence of Cardinal Romanus, the legate of Gregory IX, to determine what measures should be adopted, to avert a renewal of civil war, and the anarchy which everywhere impended, and to bring to justice the hordes of cunning malefactors, who, in the name of religion, were spreading corruption throughout the land.

Fortunate it was for Europe, that this council, or rather ecclesiastico-political congress, was composed of men, experienced in the malignity of the evils to be corrected,

* Hefele, bei Welte und Wetzer. I. Bd. S. 144.

alive to the importance of the emergency, and endowed with wisdom to meet it. The ecclesiastical provinces of Bordeaux and Auch, were represented by their episcopate and clergy; and the greater part of the nobility of the south of France, including the Counts of Toulouse and Foix, who had formerly protected the Albigenses, assisted at its deliberations.*

The first proceeding of the Synod was to establish episcopal courts of Inquisition, and accurately to define the jurisdiction which they should possess. It commanded, in the first chapter of regulations against heresy that each Archbishop and Bishop should appoint a Priest, and two, three, or more laymen, of piety and good repute, whom they should bind under oath to search out diligently heretics, and their aiders, concealers and protectors, and designate them to the Bishop, lord of the manor, or their officers.

Chapter the second made similar provision for the districts of exempted Abbots.

In chapters three, four and five, the obligation was imposed upon the temporal princes, of extirpating heresy in their territories, under penalty of having them confiscated, if they wilfully harbored it, or of expiating, in some milder way, its establishment, if owing to their sluggishness or neglect.

Chapter six ordered every house, in which a heretic should be found, to be torn down.

In chapter seven, it was decreed that remissness, on the part of officials, in the prosecution of heretics, should be punished. In order, however, to obviate the effects

* Hefele. S. 249.

of slanderous and unjust accusations, it was provided, in chapter eight, that no criminal should suffer punishment, until he had been examined by the Bishop, or his properly appointed delegate, and declared by him to be guilty of the crime of heresy.

Chapter ten ordained, that whosoever freely abjured his heresy, should remove into an uninfected district, be intrusted with no public charge, and wear two colored crosses upon his vesture, until pronounced absolved from penance, by the Pope or his legate. If his conversion had been the evident result of fear, the Bishop might, by chapter eleven, keep him under arrest, to prevent his seducing others; and the expenses of his imprisonment were to be defrayed, either by himself or the Bishop.

In chapter twelve, males over fourteen, and females over twelve years of age, were required to take, biennially, an oath, that they would be faithful to their religion, and denounce heretics to the authorities.

Chapter thirteen declared, that those who did not confess their sins and receive communion three times a year, viz. at Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, should be held suspected of heresy. In consequence of the sacrilegious indignities with which the Albigenses had treated the Bible; and, as Hurter remarks,* of the shameful manner in which their pretended translations had caricatured the text, chapter fourteen interdicted to laymen its use in a translation, and allowed them to possess no more of the Latin version than the Psalms and Breviary.

Chapter sixteen prohibited heretics from practising

* Hurter. Innoc. III. II. Bd. S. 247.

medicine, and ordered that heretics, when sick, should not be attended by a physician.* It is probable that this last law was, originally, intended to guard against the awful crimes of the "*endura*."

These are the laws which were made for the establishment of the Inquisition, and the rules which were given, at that time, for its guidance; and, when we take into view the frightful evils they were intended to counteract, and the state of Europe, then entirely destitute of a preventive and detective police, we must admit that they were far from being too severe. The vigor with which they were executed undoubtedly prevented a renewal of civil hostilities, in the south of France; and the fact that the Manichæan heresy succumbed before them, is a proof that they were wisely adapted to the age in which they were enacted.

Two years after the synod of Toulouse, the Roman Senate introduced the Inquisition into Italy, where the Manichees were scarcely less pernicious to society than in Provence and Languedoc.† Even the Emperor Frederic II., who was unfavorable to Papal influence, had issued two edicts, one at his coronation, in 1220, and another in 1224,‡ in which he condemned them to be delivered to the flames. A bull was, therefore, issued by Gregory IX., in 1231, excommunicating these heretics, and all who should harbor them, declaring them dishonored and incapable of holding office, and forbidding their giving testimony, or bequeathing or inheriting

* *Harduin* T. VII. p. 173—178.

† *Raynald*, Contin. Annal. Baronii, ad ann. 1231, n. 18 et 20.

‡ Sporschils Geschichte der katholischen Kirche, II. B. S. 512.627. — *Raynald.* l. c n 18.

property.* It did not allude to the Inquisition, but it was the cause of its immediate establishment by the Senate, at Rome, in a decree, wherein are, for the first time, named the "*inquisitores ab ecclesia dati.*" Gregory sent this decree, with his bull, to the Archbishop of Milan and his suffragans, and to other Italian prelates, exhorting them to adopt similar measures.†

Very soon after this time, by the side of the Episcopal Courts of Inquisition, we find similar institutions arising under the direction of the Friars of St. Dominic. The exact period at which the Dominicans acquired their jurisdiction is uncertain; but their energy, experience, and superior wisdom in dealing with heretics, very early obtained for them the unlimited confidence of the Bishops.‡ The peculiar object of their Founder, to train up an army of preachers against heresy, had been so successfully attained, that Pope Honorius III. recommended them to all Bishops for that office.§ It is, however, probable, that the Bishops themselves had selected them from the beginning, in preference to other Priests, as coadjutors in the work, imposed upon them by the Synod of Toulouse. Their great zeal, in withstanding the Manichæans, in the Milanese territory, in 1233, had brought them into especial favor with Gregory IX., who assigned to them the duty of reconciling heretics to the Church, in many Italian towns.‖ They were, nevertheless, generally associated, in this task, with Benedictines, or other Priests, until the time of Innocent IV. when they acquired their highest power.

* *Raynald*, l. c. n. 14, 15. † Ibid. n. 18 et 20.

‡ Hefele. Cardinal Ximenes. S. 252.

§ *Raynald*, l. c. ad ann. 1219, n. 55. ‖ *Raynald*. l. c. ad ann. 1233, n. 59.

The Spanish provinces of Arragon and Navarre had become, through their contiguousness to France, so infected with the corruption of Manichæism, that Alphonsus II. issued a severe edict against it, as early as 1194.* This edict was renewed by the successor of King Peter II. of Arragon, in 1213.†

After the Synod of Toulouse, Esparrago, the Archbishop of Tarragona, and his Suffragans, were called upon, by Gregory IX, either to proceed vigorously, themselves, against the heretics, or to permit the friar-preachers to do so.‡ They were, accordingly, introduced, immediately after, as Inquisitors, first into Lerida, and then into the rest of Spain,§ where their activity and success procured them the highest commendation, from the prelates of the age.**

In a Brief, therefore, to Raymond of Pennafort, dated Oct. 20, 1248, Innocent IV., who had, as early as 1243, appointed them Inquisitors for all Italy, except Naples, transferred to the Dominican tribunals, power equal to that which had been previously possessed by the Bishops alone. The Pope declared, that he committed the care of extirpating heresy to the Dominicans, because they had been manifestly raised up by Providence for that purpose, and because he had already, experienced the great efficacy of their labors in behalf of the

* *Llorente*, hist. de l' Inquisition etc T. 1, p. 30, n· XI.

† Ibid, p. 31, n. XII.—Peter II. was killed in the Albigensian war, at the battle of Muret, in 1213. He had taken arms, in the ranks of the Count of Toulouse, against the French and Papal troops. Vid. Hurter, Bb. II. S. 525—31.

‡ Llorente, l c. T. 1, p. 67. n. II. § Ibid, p. 6·, n. III.

** According to *Matthew Paris* (hist. major p. 271. ed. Paris 1644) the Albigenses became, in 1234, quite powerful in Spain. They possessed several strong places, and had drawn together a numerous army of soldiers, who burnt churches, and massacred catholics of every age and sex. They were, finally, defeated in battle, and dispersed; but it is evident, and worthy of note, that their *vicinity to the Moors*, among whom kindred Manichæan sects existed, whose aid they could count upon, was a principle cause of their considerable number and strength.

Church; and he therefore commanded St. Raymond to appoint Inquisitors from among them for that part of Arragon, which belonged to the ecclesiastical province of Narbonne.*

From that time, Dominican tribunals began to supersede all others. St. Louis caused them to be founded, throughout France, in 1255; in 1257, Premislaus, King of Bohemia, introduced them into his kingdom, and their existence, in the republic of Venice, was confirmed by the Pope, in 1289;† so that within sixty years from its first establishment, the Inquisition had been introduced into nearly every province of Europe, and the friar-preachers had become, every where, the ordinary Inquisitors.

The tribunals of the Inquisition were governed, for seventeen years, by the rules which had been laid down by the Synod of Toulouse; but, two years and a half before the Brief of Innocent IV, just mentioned, was issued, they had received very important modifications. On the 19th April, 1246, a council was held at Besiers by William de la Broue, Archbishop of Narbonne, and his six suffragan Bishops, at which the Dominican Inquisitors, who had already been entrusted, by the Pope, with the provinces of Arles, Aix and Embrun, demanded new instructions, as to the manner in which they should exercise their judicial functions.‡ The original system of inquisitorial courts in each parish, had nearly disappeared, and the old rules which governed them were no

* The Brief of Innocent is in *Mansi*, collect. Concil. T. XXIII.

† Hefele, in Welte und Wetzer, Bd. V. S. 658. The Holy Office was first established in Venice by the Doges, in 1249, but did not receive papal confirmation, until forty years later. It ceased to exist in 1797.

‡ Sporschil. Geschichte der katholischen Kirche. Bd. II. S. 629.

longer adapted to the recent method, of holding tribunals in the larger towns only.

At the command of Innocent IV, who was then in France, whither he had fled from the Emperor Frederic II, thirty-seven articles were drawn up by the Synod, which, within a few years, became the definite standard, by which inquisitorial proceedings were afterwards conducted.

The substance of these articles is as follows: The Inquisitors were directed to assemble the clergy and people, in some central place, within the district assigned to them, and, after preaching a sermon, to publish the powers with which they had been invested. They were then to command all persons, who knew themselves, or others, to be guilty of heresy, to come forward, within an assigned period, which was called the *time of grace*, and avow the truth. Those who obeyed this mandate were to be exempted from capital punishment, imprisonment for life, banishment, and confiscation of property. After they had been examined under oath, their confessions and depositions were to be recorded, by a public person, and the abjuration of those who desired to reenter the Church was to be received, with a promise that they would, in future, denounce heretics and assist in their prosecution. Those heretics, who did not avail themselves of the *time of grace*, were to be summoned by name, informed of the accusations which had been made against them, and allowed ample time to prepare, and freedom to make their defence. If they could not refute these charges, and should, moreover, obstinately persist in the denial of their guilt, they were to be con-

demned, without mercy. Avowed heretics were to be examined privately, in presence of a select number of judicious Catholics, and to be induced, if possible, by mildness, to abandon their errors. If contumacious, they were, themselves, to state publicly their heresy; after which, the sentence of their condemnation was to be pronounced, and they were then to be surrendered to the civil magistrates. Relapsed heretics, fugitives from justice, such as had not appeared within the time of grace, and those who had suppressed the truth, were to be condemned to perpetual imprisonment. With the approbation of the Bishop, however, this punishment could, after a time, be remitted, if security were given that the penance imposed would be performed. Prisoners were to be confined separately, in order that they might neither corrupt each other, nor easily communicate with out door accomplices. Those who were spared from imprisonment, were either to enlist, for a time, in the crusades against the Saracens, or find substitutes, or to preach against heresy, and the enemies of the Church. They were to wear two crosses upon their garments, one before and the other behind; to assist, on Sundays and festival days, at Mass and the Vesper sermon, and to stand, during the epistle and gospel, with rods in their hands, before the Priest; and, if he should inflict the discipline upon them, the heresy, for which it was done, was to be proclaimed to the people. The property of heretics condemned to death, or to imprisonment for life, was to be confiscated to the public treasury.*

These instructions of the Synod of Besiers, were for

* Sporschil, II. Bd. S. 629—30.

some years, followed only by the Inquisitors of France; and, when the Brief of Innocent IV was issued, in favor of the Dominicans, in 1248, Raymond of Pennafort was commanded, by the Pope, to continue, in Arragon, the use of the rules which had been made, in 1229, by the council of Toulouse;* but, on the 15th May 1252, Pope Innocent, then in Perugia, issued thirty eight paragraphs of statutes, substantially identical with those of Besiers, by which all approved tribunals in Europe, were ever after governed.†

How effectually these laws operated, is sufficiently indicated by the fact that, thenceforth, the names of Manichæan sects begin, gradually, to disappear from the history of Europe. They are rarely mentioned after the commencement of the fourteenth century, and, about a century after the Inquisition was founded, they had passed away, and we hear of them no more.

From the middle of the thirteenth century, to the commencement of the fourteenth, the Inquisition vigorously exercised its prerogatives; but, with the extinction of the cause for which it had been created, its influence rapidly decayed. The anti-catholic Limborch says, that, in France, which had been the chief seat of its power, "it dropped of itself, for want of heresies to proceed against,"‡ and its decline there was so speedy that, in 1312, it was transformed, by Philip the Fair, into a Royal Tribunal for the annihilation of the Knights Templars.§ "In Italy, and in Rome itself," Puigblanch, in his "Inquisition Unmasked," admits that "the Inquisi-

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† *Harduin.* Collect. Conc. T. VII, p. 354-360.
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tion soon declined."* Urban IV, in 1263, instituted a "*congregatio sacri officii*," by which the church tribunals of all lands were to be regulated, the chief occupation of which, soon became confined to the censure of books. In Burgundy, also, Limborch relates that it soon came, by degrees, to nothing, for want of heretics to prosecute.† It lasted, in the Kingdom of Arragon, for above a century, until the death of Nicholas Eymerick, in 1393.‡ From that time, we learn, from Llorente, that there, too, it gradually sunk of itself.

When we reflect that the end which this tribunal had in view, was war against an army of secret enemies, who were criminals of the blackest dye, by profession, and subverters, for conscience sake, as they feigned, of order, morality and virtue; when we consider that not only the faith of the Church and the purity of its members were attacked, but that the success of the Manichæan sects would have caused the overthrow of every government in Europe, and reduced it to worse than savage anarchy; we cannot sufficiently admire the wisdom and mercy, with which its laws were framed, nor the happy issue of their administration.

The principal object of the Inquisition was, to bring to light hidden crime. The Manichæans formed an enormous body of secret criminals, who justified themselves in exchanging, in a moment, the most beastly and incestuous orgies, to which the fanaticism of devil worship could instigate, for plausible professions of attachment to the Church; and whose most potent weapon, in the service of their infernal master, consisted in counterfeit-

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ing piety, and uniting execrable crimes to the semblance of the purest christianity. There is no possibility of exaggeration on this subject; for decency compels us to remain far behind the truth. The testimony of contemporary historians is too explicit and uncontradictory to be entirely denied, even by those historians, who have been most eager to backbite the Popes, and the archives of the Inquisition, which may still be consulted at Paris, Vienna and Rome, teem with crimes, unfolded before that tribunal, which would evoke a deluge of indignation, if they were to be now perpetrated in any civilized nation.*

Nevertheless, the spirit of the Inquisition, in direct opposition to the spirit of the state, was that of the most ingenious mercy, which wisdom and piety could devise, consistent with the firmness required to attain its object. Its great and distinctive characteristic, as an ecclesiastical tribunal, was its endeavor to reclaim heretics, by persuasion and the assurance of pardon. Whilst civil officers sought out culprits to punish them, the Inquisitors strove, by converting them, to shelter them from the severity of the laws, and to protect them from the vengeance of the sectaries themselves, to which they were exposed, if they boldly avowed their Catholic belief.

Even those regulations, which superficial observation might judge to be puerile, were intended to shield

*This has been proved, by the summary proceedings of the Prussian police, with a society of Manichæans called Mucker, which was discovered in Koenigsberg, in 1835. Two preachers, named Dirstil and Ebel, were their leaders, and it was revealed, upon judicial investigation, that the dualistic principles and filthy practices of the sect were identical with those of their ancient precursors. In Dresden, the detection of similar sectaries was followed by their being obliged to emigrate to this country, where the Manichæan practices of their leader caused him, in 1839, to be brought to justice by his own adherents.—Accounts have been received, within a few weeks, from Norway, of a sect whose vile practices caused them to be *utterly exterminated*, by the outraged neighborhood in which they lived.

and save. The only means to effect a reform among Manichees, was, to lift the veil from the secrecy of their criminality; and, therefore, avowal of crime, and humility in acknowledging error, gave to all grades of malefactors, a title to mercy, and afforded a sure means of rescuing them from the penalties which would, otherwise, have been inflicted by the State. A distinctive penitential garb, enlisting in the crusades, solitary imprisonment, engaging those who had been heretics to preach Christianity, coercions which sundered them from their corrupt associates, were well adapted punishments, inflicted to preserve and not to destroy.

The Inquisition was the instrument by which the Manichæan heresy was speedily extirpated; but it was also, undeniably, the means of saving from the flames, multitudes of heretics. Culprits were not delivered up to the temporal authorities, except in cases of contumacious persistance in depravity, and after delay, and every artifice of persuasion, had been employed, in vain, to convert them.* The ordinary state punishment for heresy was burning; but the Inquisition never passed sentence of death, or imposed any retaliatory infliction upon offenders. On the contrary, it was more strenuous, in pursuing its vocation of mercy, because it existed in an age of unsparingly stringent laws, from whose severity it could not protect the criminal, after he had been once sentenced.

* The Inquisition was peculiarly the means of preventing the innocent, thoughtless, and less hardened from suffering with the contumacious and stubbornly criminal. Limborch (Hist. Inquis. 201. 228.) admits the marked difference which was made, by the Inquisitors, between the Albigenses and the less criminal Waldenses. Yet Limborch himself exaggerates so malignantly that Gibbon remarks, of his Liber Sententiarum; "They deserved a more learned and critical editor. As we must not calumniate even Satan, or the Holy Office, I will observe, that of a list of criminals which fills nineteen folio pages, only fifteen men and four women were delivered to the secular arm." *Decline and Fall*, C. LIV.

If no Ecclesiastical court, for the trial of heresy, had ever been instituted, it is probable, if not certain, that, before the commencement of the fourteenth century, Europe would have been rent in pieces by religious wars, and inundated with blood. As was before remarked, no protective or preventive police was then known, and the administration of justice was in the hands of a brutal soldiery, who often confounded the innocent with the guilty. When the Albigensian war began, the infuriated Catholic besiegers of the city of Bessieres are said to have massacred 15,000, or according to other accounts, 60,000 persons, without regard to age, sex or creed; and this all through imaginary zeal for religion.* The maintainance of Catholicity was a part of the policy of those Emperors who were the most hostile to the Court of Rome, and the most sanguinary edicts against the Manichæans, were published by Frederick II., whose irreconcilable enmity to the Pope, fills up the greater portion of the history of his reign.

The experience of a century had taught that such opposition to heresy, of savage kings and a half barbarous nobility, less instigated by religion than self-interest and revenge, might lead to mutual butcheries, but would never weaken the power of their cunning and hypocritical adversaries. Every other means had been essayed to shake the corrupt influence of Manichæism, before Rome introduced the Inquisition, and unless there had been an innate, all controlling power in the Church, unquestioned by Christians, respected by her adversaries, and superior to brute force, even this last effort would have

* *Sismondi*, Littérature du Midi, T. 1, p. 201.

failed. The institution of the Inquisition, by Gregory IX. and his successors, was a glorious instance, of what has been constantly witnessed, in the History of the Catholic Church, the interposition of the mercy of God, to save from the justice of man.

The attempts which have been made to burden that tribunal, with the odium of having contributed to deliver multitudes of human beings to the flames, is a total perversion of the history of the case. Burning alive is an awful penalty, from which our souls revolt; but the Church is no more responsible for it, than Protestants in Prussia, are, for the still more frightful inhumanity of breaking on the wheel, which is yet, occasionally, resorted to, in that kingdom. The true fact is that the laws of the State condemned all heretics to be burned, and that the history of the Inquisition is a narrative of the most gigantic endeavors to rescue them from such a doom. Manichæans, in the eyes of the State, were more than heretics, they were traitors and common malefactors; and the mediation of the church, to convert and preserve them, was a gratuitous act of mercy. The executions which took place, were in spite of every obstacle which the church could, consistently, interpose to prevent them; nor could the Inquisition have saved those who perished, without either openly revolting against the State, or lyingly acquitting of guilt those who, by their own confession, were obstinately wedded to their crimes.

The intervention of the Church, in compelling the State to submit the criminality of heretics to her decision, before executing its own penal laws, was a grand

and majestic assumption of power, which saved Europe, saved Christianity, and saved civilization. An obscene Paganism, which had existed for a thousand years, threatened to overwhelm Europe, in the rude age which succeeded its rescue to Christianity from Barbarism; and mankind will ever owe a debt of gratitude to the tribunal of the Inquisition, through whose instrumentality it, in so astonishingly short a time, disappeared.

# LECTURE II.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—

In our last lecture, we traced the progress of the Inquisition, from its first foundation, by Gregory IX, in 1229, until the object of its creation was accomplished, the annihilation of the Manichæan heresy.

We showed that a pestilential paganism, under a Christian form, sprung up, in the beginning of the third century, so seductive in its influence, that it, in a short time, spread over the greater part of the Roman Empire, and menaced both church and civil governments, by its dangerous inroads. Its tendency was to substitute, among its adherents, monstrous vices, for piety and virtue, and to set up the worship of the Devil, in the place of the worship of God. Christian monarchs succeeded Pagan emperors, in endeavoring to extirpate it; but its mantle of hypocrisy facilitated its escaping detection, and their efforts proved unavailing. At the commencement of the thirteenth century, it had undermined all Europe. The Byzantine standard, Venetian commerce, and apostate crusaders, had carried it to every fireside, and a deluge of obscene barbarism threatened to ingulf thrones and governments. The brute violence of selfish rulers had inflamed, rather than subdued

the evil; and Manichæism must have broken down the barriers which the Saracens had not been able to efface, had no higher authority than the secular, existed.

But the Popes of Rome claimed the right, founded in the infallible certainty of their being the exclusive repository of truth, on earth, of despotically rebuking error, whatsoever form it might assume; and they discharged their divinely imposed duty, by erecting a tribunal, which should effectually eradicate the odious heresy, at the same time that it shielded its sectaries from legal outrage.

The success of this tribunal, to which was given the name of the Inquisition, was so astounding, that it saved Europe from being distracted by religious wars, conciliated heretics, abolished crime, restored order, rescued, by converting them, hordes of criminals from the inexorable penal laws of the age, and destroyed, in less than a hundred years, a frightful moral scourge, which had withstood every other form of opposition, during ten centuries. No other means could have accomplished this result; and we were safe in concluding, that, had the Holy Office never existed the, ages of progress and civilization which followed, would have afforded a sad narrative of anarchy, crime, desolation and blood. The Sovereign Pontiffs merit the gratitude of mankind for the establishment of an institution, whose wise and merciful administration of the powers delegated to it, averted the most desolating calamities from Christendom.

After the decline of the Manichæan heresy, the Inquisition sank into a preventive tribunal, at the commence-

ment of the fifteenth century, of small account in Europe. In many places, it had totally disappeared. In others, as in Arragon, the succession of distinguished men, who served as Grand Inquisitors, enables us to trace its continuance; although, even in the history of that kingdom, it is scarcely mentioned, after the death, in 1383, of Nicholas Eymerick, for over seventy years. In 1460, in consequence of complaints which were raised by P. Alphonsus Espina, a Franciscan monk, and, therefore, not naturally friendly towards the Dominican friars, that Castile possessed no Grand Inquisitor, Antonio Riccio, provincial of the Dominicans, was named by Paul II. to that station.* He seems to have had no successor, and the office remained unfilled, at the commencement of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella.

Nevertheless, from Castile, under the auspices of these wise and enlightened monarchs, the Inquisition was destined to make a matured reappearance, under another form, against new enemies, and to fill an intricate and gloomy page in modern history. It will be needful, however, to consider, historically, the causes of the critical condition to which the kingdoms of the Spanish peninsula had become reduced by the Jews and the Moors, at the close of the fifteenth century, and to weigh the dangers to which Christianity was exposed, of being overwhelmed by their enmity or treason, before we can appreciate the motives which induced the cooperation of the church, in reviving that Institution.

Ancient monuments have led some writers to surmise that Jews began to settle, in Spain, as early as the time

* Hefele. Cardinal Ximenes, S. 255.

some years, followed only by the Inquisitors of France; and, when the Brief of Innocent IV was issued, in favor of the Dominicans, in 1248, Raymond of Pennafort was commanded, by the Pope, to continue, in Arragon, the use of the rules which had been made, in 1229, by the council of Toulouse;* but, on the 15th May 1252, Pope Innocent, then in Perugia, issued thirty eight paragraphs of statutes, substantially identical with those of Besiers, by which all approved tribunals in Europe, were ever after governed.†

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The Inquisition was the instrument by which the Manichæan heresy was speedily extirpated; but it was also, undeniably, the means of saving from the flames, multitudes of heretics. Culprits were not delivered up to the temporal authorities, except in cases of contumacious persistance in depravity, and after delay, and every artifice of persuasion, had been employed, in vain, to convert them.* The ordinary state punishment for heresy was burning; but the Inquisition never passed sentence of death, or imposed any retaliatory infliction upon offenders. On the contrary, it was more strenuous, in pursuing its vocation of mercy, because it existed in an age of unsparingly stringent laws, from whose severity it could not protect the criminal, after he had been once sentenced.

* The Inquisition was peculiarly the means of preventing the innocent, thoughtless, and less hardened from suffering with the contumacious and stubbornly criminal. Limborch (Hist. Inquis. 201. 228.) admits the marked difference which was made, by the Inquisitors, between the Albigenses and the less criminal Waldenses. Yet Limborch himself exaggerates so malignantly that Gibbon remarks, of his Liber Sententiarum; "They deserved a more learned and critical editor. As we must not calumniate even Satan, or the Holy Office, I will observe, that of a list of criminals which fills nineteen folio pages, only fifteen men and four women were delivered to the secular arm." *Decline and Fall*, C. LIV.

If no Ecclesiastical court, for the trial of heresy, had ever been instituted, it is probable, if not certain, that, before the commencement of the fourteenth century, Europe would have been rent in pieces by religious wars, and inundated with blood. As was before remarked, no protective or preventive police was then known, and the administration of justice was in the hands of a brutal soldiery, who often confounded the innocent with the guilty. When the Albigensian war began, the infuriated Catholic besiegers of the city of Bessieres are said to have massacred 15,000, or according to other accounts, 60,000 persons, without regard to age, sex or creed; and this all through imaginary zeal for religion.* The maintainance of Catholicity was a part of the policy of those Emperors who were the most hostile to the Court of Rome, and the most sanguinary edicts against the Manichæans, were published by Frederick II., whose irreconcilable enmity to the Pope, fills up the greater portion of the history of his reign.

The experience of a century had taught that such opposition to heresy, of savage kings and a half barbarous nobility, less instigated by religion than self-interest and revenge, might lead to mutual butcheries, but would never weaken the power of their cunning and hypocritical adversaries. Every other means had been essayed to shake the corrupt influence of Manichæism, before Rome introduced the Inquisition, and unless there had been an innate, all controlling power in the Church, unquestioned by Christians, respected by her adversaries, and superior to brute force, even this last effort would have

* *Sismondi*, Littérature du Midi, T. 1, p. 201.

failed. The institution of the Inquisition, by Gregory IX. and his successors, was a glorious instance, of what has been constantly witnessed, in the History of the Catholic Church, the interposition of the mercy of God, to save from the justice of man.

The attempts which have been made to burden that tribunal, with the odium of having contributed to deliver multitudes of human beings to the flames, is a total perversion of the history of the case. Burning alive is an awful penalty, from which our souls revolt; but the Church is no more responsible for it, than Protestants in Prussia, are, for the still more frightful inhumanity of breaking on the wheel, which is yet, occasionally, resorted to, in that kingdom. The true fact is that the laws of the State condemned all heretics to be burned, and that the history of the Inquisition is a narrative of the most gigantic endeavors to rescue them from such a doom. Manichæans, in the eyes of the State, were more than heretics, they were traitors and common malefactors; and the mediation of the church, to convert and preserve them, was a gratuitous act of mercy. The executions which took place, were in spite of every obstacle which the church could, consistently, interpose to prevent them; nor could the Inquisition have saved those who perished, without either openly revolting against the State, or lyingly acquitting of guilt those who, by their own confession, were obstinately wedded to their crimes.

The intervention of the Church, in compelling the State to submit the criminality of heretics to her decision, before executing its own penal laws, was a grand

and majestic assumption of power, which saved Europe, saved Christianity, and saved civilization. An obscene Paganism, which had existed for a thousand years, threatened to overwhelm Europe, in the rude age which succeeded its rescue to Christianity from Barbarism; and mankind will ever owe a debt of gratitude to the tribunal of the Inquisition, through whose instrumentality it, in so astonishingly short a time, disappeared.

# LECTURE II.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—

In our last lecture, we traced the progress of the Inquisition, from its first foundation, by Gregory IX, in 1229, until the object of its creation was accomplished, the annihilation of the Manichæan heresy.

We showed that a pestilential paganism, under a Christian form, sprung up, in the beginning of the third century, so seductive in its influence, that it, in a short time, spread over the greater part of the Roman Empire, and menaced both church and civil governments, by its dangerous inroads. Its tendency was to substitute, among its adherents, monstrous vices, for piety and virtue, and to set up the worship of the Devil, in the place of the worship of God. Christian monarchs succeeded Pagan emperors, in endeavoring to extirpate it; but its mantle of hypocrisy facilitated its escaping detection, and their efforts proved unavailing. At the commencement of the thirteenth century, it had undermined all Europe. The Byzantine standard, Venetian commerce, and apostate crusaders, had carried it to every fireside, and a deluge of obscene barbarism threatened to ingulf thrones and governments. The brute violence of selfish rulers had inflamed, rather than subdued

the evil; and Manichæism must have broken down the barriers which the Saracens had not been able to efface, had no higher authority than the secular, existed.

But the Popes of Rome claimed the right, founded in the infallible certainty of their being the exclusive repository of truth, on earth, of despotically rebuking error, whatsoever form it might assume; and they discharged their divinely imposed duty, by erecting a tribunal, which should effectually eradicate the odious heresy, at the same time that it shielded its sectaries from legal outrage.

The success of this tribunal, to which was given the name of the Inquisition, was so astounding, that it saved Europe from being distracted by religious wars, conciliated heretics, abolished crime, restored order, rescued, by converting them, hordes of criminals from the inexorable penal laws of the age, and destroyed, in less than a hundred years, a frightful moral scourge, which had withstood every other form of opposition, during ten centuries. No other means could have accomplished this result; and we were safe in concluding, that, had the Holy Office never existed the, ages of progress and civilization which followed, would have afforded a sad narrative of anarchy, crime, desolation and blood. The Sovereign Pontiffs merit the gratitude of mankind for the establishment of an institution, whose wise and merciful administration of the powers delegated to it, averted the most desolating calamities from Christendom.

After the decline of the Manichæan heresy, the Inquisition sank into a preventive tribunal, at the commence-

ment of the fifteenth century, of small account in Europe. In many places, it had totally disappeared. In others, as in Arragon, the succession of distinguished men, who served as Grand Inquisitors, enables us to trace its continuance; although, even in the history of that kingdom, it is scarcely mentioned, after the death, in 1383, of Nicholas Eymerick, for over seventy years. In 1460, in consequence of complaints which were raised by P. Alphonsus Espina, a Franciscan monk, and, therefore, not naturally friendly towards the Dominican friars, that Castile possessed no Grand Inquisitor, Antonio Riccio, provincial of the Dominicans, was named by Paul II. to that station.* He seems to have had no successor, and the office remained unfilled, at the commencement of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella.

Nevertheless, from Castile, under the auspices of these wise and enlightened monarchs, the Inquisition was destined to make a matured reappearance, under another form, against new enemies, and to fill an intricate and gloomy page in modern history. It will be needful, however, to consider, historically, the causes of the critical condition to which the kingdoms of the Spanish peninsula had become reduced by the Jews and the Moors, at the close of the fifteenth century, and to weigh the dangers to which Christianity was exposed, of being overwhelmed by their enmity or treason, before we can appreciate the motives which induced the cooperation of the church, in reviving that Institution.

Ancient monuments have led some writers to surmise that Jews began to settle, in Spain, as early as the time

* Hefele. Cardinal Ximenes, S. 255.

of Solomon; but they, more probably, colonized from Africa, about a hundred years before the birth of Christ, soon after which they appear in possession of much power, and distinguished by a proselytizing spirit.* Their numbers and wealth had increased to such a degree, in the first centuries of our era, that they ventured an attempt to judaize the entire peninsula. In 303–13, their worship had become so general, that a synod, held at the ancient city of Eliberis, near where Granada was afterwards founded, prohibited Christians from having recourse to Hebrew Rabbins to bless their lands, forbade intermarriages with Jews, on account of the many families who had lost their faith by such alliances, and interdicted unnecessary intercourse with them, to both priests and laymen.†

Two centuries and a half later, in 589, the third Council of Toledo, renewed the decree against the intermarriage of Christians with Jewish families; and, to prevent the crime, which was growing frequent among the Jews, of kidnapping and making eunuchs of christian children, whom they sold into bondage, issued an edict that every slave so mutilated should be restored to freedom.‡ These laws appear, however, to have been ill executed, and Jews succeeded in buying the protection of even some of the clergy—a shameful abuse, which was rebuked by the fourth Council of Toledo, in 633.§

The fifty-fourth canon of this Council, forbade the attempts, which were made by some of the Visigoth kings,

* Jost, Geschichte der Israeliten seit der Zeit der Maccabäer bis auf unsere Tage. Thl. V. S 13. 17.

† *Harduin* T. I, p. 255 can. 49, 50, 16.

‡ *Harduin*, T. III, p. 481. can. 14. Gfrörer, Geschichte der Carolinger, I. Bd. S. 113—114.

§ *Harduin* p. 590, can. 58.

to force the Jews to embrace Christianity; but commanded that baptized Jews should remain true to their faith. In canon fifty-nine, it was enacted, that, as many pretended converts secretly adhered to Judaism, the law of King Sisenand, compelling such to return to Christianity, should be enforced; and, to prevent further apostacies, baptized Jews were prohibited, in canon sixty-two, from communicating with those who had not been baptized.*

We should carefully notice this distinction, thus early drawn, in Spain, between real Jews and pretended converts to the Christian faith; as they were ever afterwards considered two separate classes, the former of which were to be allowed the free exercise of their religion, while the latter, on account of their duplicity, were subjected to punishment.

The severity with which the Visigoth Kings, seconded by the ecclesiastical legislation of the fourth, sixth, twelfth and sixteenth Synods of Toledo, restricted the civil rights of the Jews,† unfortunately fostered dissimulation among them, and multiplied the number of hypocritical conversions. During the reign of King Egica, a widely extended conspiracy, of which we have some account in the seventeenth Synod of Toledo, was discovered, between these compelled Christians and the Saracens in Africa, to overthrow the Visigoth monarchy and found a western Jerusalem. It was crushed by the government, and followed by severe retribution: the Moors were defeated, and their apostate Spanish al-

* *Harduin*, T. III. p. 590.
† Ibid. pp. 591. 1723 1793.

lies punished with slavery.* The Jews, however, soon recovered from this calamity, and, not long after, in the beginning of the eighth century, appear to have facilitated, by their intrigues, the Saracenic invasion of the country.†

After the famous battle of Xeres de la Frontera, in 711, had brought the peninsula under Mahommedan dominion, they richly profited by these alliances. From that time, as long as the Saracen rule continued, they enjoyed a position, as a people, which they have never obtained in any other part of Christendom. They accumulated riches, attained power, influence, and the highest political aggrandizement, could boast of men distinguished for learning and their contributions to practical science, founded schools and academies, at Cordova, Toledo, Barcelona, and Granada, as celebrated and flourishing as any of that period;‡ and, from the beginnig of the eighth, until the end of the fourteenth century, were favored by almost uninterrupted prosperity.§

During the ages of religious war, between the Spaniards and Moors, in which the Jews were exposed to danger from the Spanish nobility, who regarded them as their most implacable and immediate enemies,¶ the Popes and clergy interfered to protect them. An especial Brief was issued, by Alexander II, the friend and predecessor of Hildebrand, to the Spanish Bishops, in

* Joß, a. a. O. S. 147.—Hefele, S. 258.—*Harduin* T. III. p. 1816 can, 8. Hefele refutes the statement of Prescott (Ferdinand and Isabella I. 235) that one of the Visigoth laws "condemned the whole Jewish race to slavery," and shows clearly, from the eighth canon of the council of Toledo, which Prescott quotes as his authority that only the conspirators lost their freedom.

† *Prescott.* History of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. Vol. I. p. 236.

‡ *Prescott* Vol. I. p 236—237 "The first academy founded by the learned Jews in Spain was that of Cordova, A. D. 948."

§ Ibid. p. 238.

¶ Joß, Bd. VI. S. 292.

which he praises their charity, for having saved the Jews from massacre; and the Viscount Berengarius of Narbonne, who had mediated in their favour, received a laudatory letter from the same Pontiff.* A century and a half later, at the commencement of the thirteenth century, Honorius III. took their part against the violence of their enemies, and, in France as well as in Spain, their learning gained them the protection of the clergy.†

The [illegible]es, however, justly demanded, as Gregory VII. did [illegible] Alphonsus VI, of Castile, that Jews should not be entrusted with civil authority over Christians;‡ and, if this policy, which united prudence to mercy, had been observed, many subsequent evils would have been prevented. But the Spanish rulers passed from extremes of distrust, to a capricious and inconsistent confidence. From the Visigoth Kings, to the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, periods of severe administration, in which numberless Jews simulated Christianity, alternated with their sudden elevation to favor and strength, when the secrecy of their hostility made them doubly dangerous to the Church and Kingdom; until every hamlet, trade, profession and rank became filled with judaizing Christians, abhorring the creed they had adopted, and the government to which they professed attachment, and forming an immense hidden army of irreconcilable enemies, within the State.

After the accession to the throne, in 1280, of Alfonso the Tenth, the Astrologian, who loved and cherished the

*Harduin, T. VI. P. I., p. 1100 et 1116.
† Jost, Thl. VI S. 293, 302.
‡ Harduin, l. c. p. 1479

Jews, on account of their astronomical knowledge, they acquired almost as great a power, under the Castilian Kings, as had been confided to them by the Moors themselves. Jews filled the offices of stewards, administrators and treasurers of Kings and Grandees; they were nearly the exclusive venders of drugs in Spain, and the medical skill they had acquired from the Moors, gave them access to all families and secrets; they were tried by their own judges, and possessed laws and rights which gave them frequent advantages over their Christian opponents, and, in common with the Spanish nobles, enjoyed the preposterous privilege of being exempted from imprisonment, except by royal mandate.*

Urgent but vain remonstrances were made to the Crown by the Cortes and ecclesiastical councils, against such immunities, and popular tumults bore occasional testimony to the hatred of the people, towards these dangerous aliens.† They continued in favor, during the reigns of Alfonso the Tenth, Alfonso the Eleventh, Peter the Cruel, Henry the Second, and other princes, at whose courts we meet with Jewish statesmen, ministers of finance, and royal favorites, who held the reins of government, and controlled the destinies of Spain.*

But, if such was the progress made by the real Jews, vastly more dangerous did the prodigious throngs of their race become, who were driven, by the persecution which commenced at the close of the fourteenth century, to swell the numbers of the hypocritical professors of Christianity. The indiscreet and exaggerated encour-

* Hefele, Cardinal Ximenes, S. 259.—Jost, Thl. VI. S. 296.
† Hefele, S. 260.—Jost. Thl. VI. S. 318—321. 324—327 und Thl. VII. S. 51. 53.
‡ Hefele. S. 260.—*Prescott*, Vol. I. p. 238. 239.

agement, which had been given to Jews, for nearly two centuries, had thrown into their avaricious hands, a great portion of the wealth of the kingdom; and the injudicious rigor, which suddenly converted their prerogatives into restrictions, threatened to deliver to them, as pretended Christians, the entire Castilian nationality.*

As a safe shield against persecution, and to promote the accomplishment of their designs, they began to creep into ecclesiastical dignities, aspired to episcopal sees, attained the highest civil honors, intermarried with the proudest nobility, and employed these means, together with their prodigious wealth, to secure for Judaism a triumph over Christianity.† Their feverish proselytizing spirit knew no bounds; and when, in 1472, they sought to buy possession of the fortress of Gibraltar, the key of Spain, there is no doubt that they anticipated a speedy re-enactment of the scenes of the eighth century, and a second downfall of Christianity, in the Spanish provinces.‡

At the commencement of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, Jews and judaizing Christians, formed, in Spain, a wealthy, powerful, crafty, learned, fearless, and united people, endowed with the genius which seems peculiar to the children of Israel; existing in the midst of a christian nation, which they had thoroughly undermined, bitterly hated, and were resolved to betray to the Moorish enemies, with whom it was still involved in doubtful war; and devoted to a desperate, deadly struggle against Christianity, with the fearful odds, on

* Hefele. S. 260.

† *Llorente*, T. II. p. 339. n. VI; p. 340. n. IX.—Jost, Thl. VII. S. 100.

‡ Jost, a. a. O. Thl. VII. S. 70.

and majestic assumption of power, which saved Europe, saved Christianity, and saved civilization. An obscene Paganism, which had existed for a thousand years, threatened to overwhelm Europe, in the rude age which succeeded its rescue to Christianity from Barbarism; and mankind will ever owe a debt of gratitude to the tribunal of the Inquisition, through whose instrumentality it, in so astonishingly short a time, disappeared.

It was under such circumstances that those monarchs resolved to revive the Inquisition; for precisely the same object which had caused its original institution—to bring to light hidden enemies, hypocrites guilty of high treason, who, under the garb of friendship and attachment, were sapping the foundations of Church and State.

The first impulse to its establishment was given by Philip de Barberis, Inquisitor of Sicily, who, in 1477–8, besought king Ferdinand, then residing at Seville, to renew a privilege for the Institution over which he presided. F. Alonzo of Ojeda, a Dominican friar, and Diego of Merlo, a wealthy proprietor of Seville, supported, if Llorente may be credited, by Nicolo Franco, the Papal Nuncius, took this opportunity of laying before the King the necessity of erecting such a tribunal in Castile.*

These representations led to the opening of negotiations, between Ferdinand and Isabella and the Sovereign Pontiff, for the achievement of this object;† but an

*Vid. Hefele. Der Cardinal Ximenes und die kirchlichen Zustände Spaniens am Ende des 15. und Anfange des 16. Jahrhunderts. This learned and impartial book contains the most correct history which has yet been given, of the Inquisition in Spain.—His materials are, chiefly, taken from the Histoire de l' Inquisition, par *Don Juan Antonio Llorente*. Paris, 1818, in 4 volumes, which is a repertory of valuable documents, although it contains as much wanton falsehood and wilful calumny, as the mind of its author could suggest. The perpetual self-contradictions of this pretended history are its best refutation. For an account of Llorentes life, infamous character, and the motives which led him to compose his work, see Hefele, S. 339—348.—— It is to be deplored that Prescott, in his valuable life of Ferdinand and Isabella, should have been guided by the statements of such a man. His long panegyric of Llorente (Vol. I, p. 268, note) would, certainly, never have been written, had he read the character given, of that writer, after his death, by his colleagues and friends, in Paris, Mahul and Lanjuinais, in the Révue Encylopédique, of April, 1823; and the distrust of his testimony, which occasionally manifests itself, would have been greatly augmented.

* Limborch says, they "earnestly solicited the Roman Pontiff" to permit them to nominate Inquisitors for their realm.

effort, suggested by the generous hearted Isabella,* was once more made, while they were pending, to check, by peaceful means, the progress of Krypto-Judaism.

A catechism, directing Christians how to demean themselves, from their baptism until their death, was published by the holy Mendoza, Cardinal Archbishop of Seville, in 1478, and promulgated in all parts of his Diocese; and a select number of secular and religious clergy were appointed, to win back, if possible, "by means of friendly exhortation, and a candid exposition of the true principles of Christianity,"† the apostates to the Church. The Vicar General, Don Pedro de Solis, the Corrigidor Merlo, and F. Alonzo de Ojeda, were associated in this pious undertaking, to observe the effect of conciliatory appeals, upon the minds of the Judaizers.‡

Never did mission more completely and decidedly fail of success. The Apostates regarded the attempt to convert them, as an indication of weakness and terror in the government, and were encouraged by it to display a contemptuous and vaunting tone of anticipated triumph, which they had never before ventured to assume. They carried their audacity so far as to publish an impudent and biting lampoon, upon the pacific plan of Ferdinand and Isabella, teeming with rebellion, and most blasphemously reviling the Christian religion.§

Even the mild Isabella became convinced that coercion must be now employed, in order to save the king-

‡ *Prescott*, T. I. ch. 7. p. 249.
† Ibid.—Defele. S. 264—265.
‡ *Llorente*, T I. p. 146. n. XIV.—Jost, a. a. O. Thl. VII. S. 73.
§ Jost, a. a. O. S. 73.—*Prescott*, Vol. I. p. 249. note.—*Llorente*, T. I. p. 146. n. XIII.

ment of the fifteenth century, of small account in Europe. In many places, it had totally disappeared. In others, as in Arragon, the succession of distinguished men, who served as Grand Inquisitors, enables us to trace its continuance; although, even in the history of that kingdom, it is scarcely mentioned, after the death, in 1383, of Nicholas Eymerick, for over seventy years. In 1460, in consequence of complaints which were raised by P. Alphonsus Espina, a Franciscan monk, and, therefore, not naturally friendly towards the Dominican friars, that Castile possessed no Grand Inquisitor, Antonio Riccio, provincial of the Dominicans, was named by Paul II. to that station.* He seems to have had no successor, and the office remained unfilled, at the commencement of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella.

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* Hefele. Cardinal Ximenes, S. 255.

dable position which the King intended it should occupy towards his rebellious subjects.*

On the second of January, 1481, the new Tribunal issued an edict, assigning a time of grace, during which, such as should confess their errors might receive absolution, and "requiring all persons to aid in apprehending and accusing all such as they might know or suspect to be guilty of heresy."† It described, by what indications the Judaism of pretended Christians might be discovered, and by what evidence those were to be guided, who might advance charges against them. If a person made the marked difference in his apparel, on the Jewish Sabbath, instead of Sunday, which would show that he observed it as a day of festivity; if, in accordance with Jewish custom, he had no fire in his house on the preceding evening; if he ate animal food, slaughtered in the manner in which it is prepared by the Jews, or drank a beverage held in much estimation by that people; if he followed their observances towards the dead, or turned those who were dying towards the wall; or if he manifested a predilection for Hebrew, instead of Christian names, for his children, a sufficient conjecture of Judaism might be entertained, to require that he should clear himself of guilt, before the proper authority.‡

The criminality of some of the most notorious judaizing conspirators, was immediately pronounced, and they were sentenced to death by the civil tribunals. Prescott relates that within four days of the publication of the edict, "on the sixth day of January, six convicts suffered at the stake." Seventeen more were executed,

* Hefele. S. 265. † *Prescott*, Vol. 1. p. 250.
‡ *Llorente*, T. 1. p. 153—158.

in the month of March following, and, by the fourth of November, of the same year, two hundred and ninety eight individuals had been surrendered to the secular arm, and sacrificed in the *autos da fe* of Seville.*

Ferdinand had so contrived, that the duty, which the Church was bound to perform, and which the Pope could neither refuse nor evade, of declaring where errors in faith existed, should be made subservient to the state purpose of detecting high treason, then identical with Judaism; whilst the Church itself could exercise no controlling influence whatsoever, to stay the terrible retributions, which were awarded by the criminal courts of the realm. From that time, therefore, we find Church and State, as hostile elements, combined in accomplishing the same purpose; ecclesiastical royal functionaries designating the multitudes of judaizing Christians who were destroying the kingdom; yet vainly struggling against the savage harshness, with which an exaggerated instinct of self-preservation, led the government, supported by popular feeling throughout all Spain, to sacrifice the objects of its dread.

Many Judaizers fled the country, and convincing evidence of the well known merciful disposition of the Holy See is afforded by the fact, that numbers bent their course towards Rome, and appealed to the Sovereign Pontiff for protection against the cruelty of their King.†

* *Prescott*, T. 1. p. 252.—*Llorente*, T. 1. p. 160, n. I—Until the time when Torquemada was made Grand Inquisitor, there was, in all Spain, but the one tribunal, at Seville, to which criminals were brought to be judged, from every part of the province of Andalusia.—Compare Hefele, S. 267.

† *Prescott*, T. 1. 254.—*Balmes*, p. 207—208. At a later period, an *Auto da fe* was held at Rome in regard to two hundred and fifty Spaniards who had appealed to the Pope. They were all reconciled to the church, and *not one* was condemned to death.

The indignation of Sixtus IV knew no bounds when he became aware to what extent he had been trifled with, and that his intention to serve the Spanish monarchs, by converting and preserving their heretical subjects, was defeated by the rigorous measures employed. On the twenty-ninth of January, 1482, only one year after the establishment of the Inquisition at Seville, he issued a Brief to Ferdinand and Isabella, vehemently complaining that he had been defrauded into the publication of the Bull, confirming the royal plan for such a tribunal; that the intentions of those sovereigns had been wholly misrepresented to him; and that their new Institution was in direct opposition to every court of the kind elsewhere, and contrary to the decrees of his predecessors. He rejects the petition of Isabella, to introduce tribunals, similar to that at Seville, into the other Spanish provinces, for the reason, that they already possessed them, according to the ancient ecclesiastical and Episcopal form.

He reproves the Inquisitors themselves, in the severest language, for their harsh and unpriestly conduct, accuses them of having punished persons who were not even heretics, and declares that he is only withheld from deposing them from their office, by regard for the two monarchs. He orders, that, for the future, they shall not proceed against heretics at all, except with the concurrence of the respective Castilian Bishops.*

The opposition of the Pope only served to excite resentment in the minds of Ferdinand and Isabella, and to confirm them in their determination to act indepen-

* The Papal Brief is contained in *Llorente*, T. IV. p. 345.

dently of the Court of Rome, by making the Inquisition a purely royal tribunal; but did not induce them to mitigate, in the least, its severity. The command, that the proceedings of the Inquisitors, against heretics, should be accompanied by the co-operation of the Bishops, was the only one by which they were embarrassed; and Isabella made instant but unsuccessful application to have it revoked.*

Sixtus was resolved, to do all that he dared to do, to put a stop to cruelties so discordant with Catholic principles; and, as his first edict proved to be unavailing, he sent, on the twenty-third of February, 1483, a second remonstrance against a State Inquisition, in which he refused to grant several new requests which had been made by the Queen, and, at the same time, appointed the Archbishop of Seville, Don Inigo Manrique, as Papal Judge of Appeal, to whom all those who were condemned might have recourse.†

On the second of August, of the same year, as no regard had been paid by the Spanish government to his injunctions, and the efforts of his plenipotentiary had been contemned and fruitless, the Pope issued another edict, in which he declared, that he himself would, in future, receive appeals from the decisions of the Inquisitors;‡ that he took all criminals, who might manifest repentance, under his own protection; and demanded

* *Llorente*, l. c. T. IV. p. 353.

† The Brief is in *Llorente*, T. IV, p. 352, 359, 360.

‡ All the efforts of Ferdinand could not entirely destroy the effect of the right which the Pope reserved to himself of receiving appeals. The King maintained (Vid. *Llorente*. l. c. T. II. p. 471.) that the recourse which criminals might have to the Royal Minister of Justice, was sufficient; but Balmes relates that, notwithstanding, "the number of causes summoned from Spain, to Rome, was *countless*, during the first fifty years of the existence of the Inquisition, and Rome always inclined to the side of indulgence."

their pardon, and the restitution of their property, even though the time of grace should have expired.* No language can be more touching than his solemn appeal to the King and Queen, by the tender mercies of Jesus Christ, to show pity to such of their subjects as might have fallen into error.

The Pope *could* not have done more than he did do. He had proceeded to the utmost lengths, which the circumstances of the case permitted, to prevail upon the Spanish monarchs to reduce the Inquisitorial system to the standard which had made it, in times of equal emergency, the glory of the Catholic Church.† But his endeavors were foiled by the unbending firmness with which Ferdinand and Isabella adhered to their purpose. The Inquisition was eminently popular among the masses, as a means of crushing the higher nobility and clergy, who were more infected with Judaism than any other classes of society; and they knew that they could count upon the applause of the people for any measures, however rigorous, which they might, even in defiance of Rome, choose to adopt.‡ The relations between the two courts became, at one period, so unfriendly, that the Ambassadors, on both sides, were imprisoned, all negotiations were suspended, and the King recalled those of his subjects, who were dwelling in the Roman States.§

* *Llorente*, T. IV. 357.—This disproves the erroneous statement of Prescott, that "in 1483, we find the Pontiff quieting the scruples of Isabella respecting the appropriation of the confiscated property."—The Pope simply tells the Queen that he is willing to credit her assertion, that she does not persecute the judaizers from financial motives.

† *Balmes*, p. 209, remarks; "If the Popes had not feared to excite divisions, which *would have been fatal*, their measures would have been carried still further." The time did not permit Sixtus, either to lay an Interdict on the Kingdom, or to

‡ Ranke, Fürsten und Völker von Süd-Europa im sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhundert, Berlin 1837, I. Bd. Thl. 1. S. 245. 248.—Hefele, S. 279. 270.

§ Hefele, S. 296.

Under such circumstances, Ferdinand, at length, proposed to the Pope that an office of Grand Inquisitor should be created, to be filled by an ecclesiastic, nominated by himself and confirmed by the Holy Father. He consented to invest this new dignitary with supreme control over all ecclesiastical tribunals in the Kingdom, and to relinquish to him the right to appoint all inferior Inquisitors. This plan, which seemed to take away from the crown the odious right of filling the offices of the Inquisition with its own creatures, to vest the Holy See with a more immediate influence in its administration than it had yet possessed, and to establish a higher power in Spain, to which those who were unjustly sentenced might appeal, was finally assented to by Sixtus IV. as an acceptable compromise.*

A Brief was accordingly issued, in the latter part of 1483, by which F. Thomas Torquemada, Prior of the Dominican Convent of the Holy Cross, at Segovia, was appointed the first Grand Inquisitor of Castile; and a second Brief, dated the seventeenth of October, of the same year, added the Grand Inquisitorship of Arragon, to his jurisdiction.†

Ferdinand, by his subtle diplomacy, had thus entrapped the Pope into approving all that he needed, to make the Holy Office a purely State Tribunal. The wily king had well calculated on the ease with which the sovereign Pontiff could be blinded, with regard to the qualifica-

excommunicate the Spanish King. The practical effect of such steps would have been, to array the influence of the Pope on the side of the Judaizers, and thus to ally Christians with these hypocrites, in a warfare against Christianity. However great the severity of Ferdinand may have been, hostile measures, on the part of Rome, could only aggravate the evil; and the probable consequence would have been, the reconquest of the Spanish peninsula, by the Mahommedans.

* Hefele, S. 270. † *Llorente*, l. c. T. I. p. 172, n. I. et II.

tions of the individual he might nominate to the office of Grand Inquisitor, and was sure that no Spanish subject would dare to appoint inferior officers, over such a tribunal, against the royal will.*

Torquemeda's accession to power commences a new epoch, therefore, in the history of the Spanish Inquisition. During the years which succeeded his elevation, he gave it a complete organization throughout the entire kingdoms of Castile and Arragon; composed a code of regulations for its government;† and established it on the basis, which it ever after retained, in Spain, that of a royal court, under royal control, officered by royal functionaries, and subservient to the aggrandizement of royal power.

Four tribunals were erected—in Seville, Cordova, Jaen and Villa-Real, the latter subsequently transferred to Toledo—to each of which the King assigned a board of Councillors, to be presided over by the Grand Inquisitor, as a deliberative assembly in spiritual matters; but which, in civil and judicial issues, by a majority of votes, controlled all decisions. These Councillors could be chosen by the King, from among laymen, as well as priests, without any ecclesiastical confirmation whatsoever, not even that of the Grand Inquisitor; so that their plenary power, on all other than religious questions, removed the last vestige of submission or deference to Catholic authority.‡

* We learn from Llorente himself, that the object of Ferdinand, in proposing Torquemada to the Pope, of whose character Sixtus could, as yet, only know the better side, was to paralyze the effect of the mild Papal edict of the second of August, 1483.—l. c. p. 172. (Vgl. Hefele, S. 270. 4.)

† This code is to be found in the "collection of Instructions for Spanish Inquisitors" by Spittler.

‡ *Llorente*, T. I. p. 173. u. V. et VI.

The State had, indeed, gone too far to recede. Judaizers and Jews had become so much exasperated, by the measures employed to curb them, that no reasonable hope could be entertained of their ever becoming peaceable citizens; and they were far too powerful and rebellious to permit the monarchs to relax the vigilance of their hostility. The inflexible rigor of the Inquisition, at Seville, during the years 1481–3, had appalled the Jews in the province of Andalusia; but, in other parts of Spain, their opposition to Christianity and their proselytizing zeal were undiminished; and the desperate struggle, in which Ferdinand and Isabella were engaged against the Moors, made them fear that the alliance of internal foes, with these enemies, might, in case of any reverse to their arms, still prove fatal to the stability of the monarchy. The strife of the two sovereigns was, certainly, with uncompromising and deadly enemies, and it would be unjust to condemn their policy, before weighing the circumstances under which it was adopted. It was "under a government," as Prescott admits, "which had displayed great religious independence on more than one occasion, and which had paid uniform regard to the rights of its subjects, and pursued a generous policy in reference to their intellectual culture."*

Nevertheless, the new tribunal was not established every where, without opposition. The ancient ecclesiastical Inquisition had existed, undisturbed, in Arragon, for centuries; but the nobility, and representatives of the large towns, were themselves, to such an extent, Judaizers, that they succeeded in exciting a tumult

* *Prescott*, l. c. T. 1, p. 263.

against the State Institution;* and the first Inquisitor, Dr. Peter Arbues, of Epila, canon of Sarragossa, was murdered in the church, at midnight, while engaged in chanting matins.† "The funds, necessary for the accomplishment of the murder, the pay of the assassins, and the other expenses required for the plot, were collected by means of voluntary contributions imposed on themselves, by all the Jews of Arragon."‡

The murder of a man, whom Blancas calls, "*vir justus optimus, singulari bonitate et modestia præditus inprimisque sacris literis excultus et doctrina*"§ gave a sway to the tribunal in Arragon, fully equal to that which it already enjoyed in Castile. It excited the indignation of the populace to the highest pitch. When the report of the death of the Inquisitor spread through the town, says Balmes, "the people made a fearful tumult to avenge his death. They went in crowds in pursuit of the *new Christians*," (as the Judaists were styled by the common folk) "so that a bloody catastrophe would have ensued, had not the young Archbishop of Sarragossa, Alphonsus of Arragon, presented himself to the people on horseback, and calmed them by the assurance that all the rigor of the laws should fall on the heads of the guilty."‖

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* *Prescott*, l. c. T. II. p. 7, says; "It was particularly offensive to the higher orders, many of whose members, including persons filling the most considerable official stations, were of Jewish descent, and of course precisely the class exposed to the scrutiny of the Inquisition."

† *Llorente*, l. c. T. I. p. 189, seq.

‡ *Balmes*, l. c. p. 207.—*Prescott*, l. c. Vol. II. p. 8.

§ *Blancas*, Commentarii rerum Arragonensium, p. 264

‖ *Balmes*, l. c. p. 207.—*Prescott*, l. c. T. I. p. 9, 10.—Prescott leads his readers to suppose, that the whole people were opposed to the introduction of the Inquisition, into Arragon; yet his narrative coincides with the above, and the proofs of ill will he alledges, were confined, exclusively, to the higher classes, which, as he acknowledges, were infected with Judaism. The *people*, in Arragon, as every where else, were not only friendly to the Inquisition, but even rejoiced in its severity.

Whilst King Ferdinand and Torquemada were completing their arrangements, Sixtus IV. died; and, on the eleventh of February, 1486, the concessions he had made, were confirmed by his successor, Innocent VIII.*

Sixtus had, before his death, contrived a new method, by which he hoped to save criminals from the rigor of the Spanish laws. Raynald relates, that in, 1485, the Pope issued instructions to the Inquisitors, that they should secretly give absolution to such heretics as were penitent, in order that no further legal pretext might remain for proceeding against them.† Innocent VIII. adopted the same expedient; and, on the day on which he confirmed the decrees of his predecessor, commanded that fifty heretics should be secretly absolved. Three months later, he ordered the pardon of fifty more; again of fifty on the thirtieth of June, of the same number on the thirtieth of July, and, according to Llorente, repeatedly issued edicts of a like merciful nature.‡

Most of these bold endeavors, however, to save criminals, were unsuccessful, and, as Llorente states, were wholly ignored by the Spanish government.§

While Rome was thus making unavailing attempts to mitigate the severity of the Holy Office, Ferdinand and Isabella were intent upon giving its jurisdiction a still more extended range.

Immediately after the conquest of Granada, in 1492, a royal edict of banishment was issued against all Jews of Castile and Arragon, who would not consent to embrace Christianity.‖

* Hefele, S. 271.
† *Raynald*, ad. ann. 1485, n. 21. *Llorente*, l. c. T. IV. p. 363, Seq.
‡ *Llorente*, l. c. T. I. pp. 241, 242, n. V.—VII.
§ Ibid. Hefele, S. 299.
‖ *Prescott*, l. c. T. II, ch. XVII, p. 135—154.

The Inquisitors, and other zealots, incessantly insinuated to the Spanish monarchs, that Krypto-Judaism could not be extirpated, as long as the Jews, by their proselytizing influence, could cause the *Maranos*,* as baptized converts from their belief were called, to apostatize; and they represented the encouragement given to Spaniards to marry into opulent Hebrew families, by which the faith of great numbers of Christians had been successfully undermined, as a proof that the judaizing party still nourished the hope of being able, at no distant day, to establish their superstition, as the national religion of the Spanish peninsula.† Such complaints were readily listened to by Spanish statesmen, who could not endure to see the most lucrative occupations, the best trades, the commerce of the nation, and a great portion of the wealth of the Kingdom, in the hands of the Hebrew people.‡

Still, they never could have accomplished the result they aimed at, had not the treasonable excesses and unpardonable crimes of a portion of the Jews themselves, afforded them an occasion.

Animated by a spirit of revenge, for the severity with which the secret adherents of their sect had been treated by the Inquisition,§ they disfigured crucifixes, exposed to the greatest indignities consecrated hosts,

* *Hefele* derives the word Maranos from *Maranatha*, "the Lord comes," 1. Cor. XVI, 22; but *Balmes* thinks, with more probability, that it was a title of ignominy. "The converted Jews," he says, "were contemptuously called *Marranos*,—impure men, piga."—p. 207.

† For a full notice of the proselytizing endeavors of the Jews, during the time of Ferdinand the Catholic, see *D. Jose Clemente Carnicero*, la Inquisicion justamente restablecida, o impugnacion de la obra de D. Juan Antonio Llorente: etc. Madrid, 1816, P. I. Tom. I. p. 61, 101 etc.

‡ *Prescott*, l. c, T. II, p. 135, 140. Hefele. S. 272.—Jost, Thl. VII. S. 82.

§ Hefele, S. 272.

which they had stolen, committed many shameful sacrileges, and exhibited their hatred of Christianity in other ways equally criminal and audacious.* Jost, Llorente, and Ferreras mention, likewise, the heavy suspicion they were under, of having kidnapped and crucified christian children, as at Guardia in la Mancha, in 1490, and also at Valencia.† Their Apothecaries and physicians were accused of poisoning their Christian patients, and popular hatred and jealousy undoubtedly exaggerated the isolated atrocities of a few wild Jewish enthusiasts, into crimes common to the whole nation.—It is the misfortune of excited and turbulent times, that the outrages of a small minority, are visited indiscriminately upon the whole body of which they are members; although the excesses they have perpetrated may be condemned and abhorred by the greater number.

But, besides these social enormities, the treasonable intrigues of the Jews had become established beyond a doubt. Intercepted letters in cypher, had proved that the Moors were concerting measures with their brethren in Africa to regain their lost power in Spain, and the Jews were deeply engaged in these plots.‡ In 1585, when their hopes of successful insurrection were less well founded, a conspiracy had become discovered among

* Hefele, S. 272.

† Jost, a. a. O. Thl. VII. S. 56. 81.—Hefele, S. 273.—*Llorente*, l. c. T. l. p. 258 n. III. seq.—*Ferreras*, Hist. d'Espagne, tom VIII. 11. p. p. 132. § 231.—*Balmes*, l. c. p. 207.—The oppressive usury of the Jews has undoubtedly been always a chief cause of the hatred against them of the common people; yet there is no doubt that the infanticide, of which certain wild Hebrew fanatics were frequently guilty, occasioned the bloodiest outbreaks from which they have suffered. For additional proofs, see, Raumer, Geschichte der Hohenstaufen, V. Bd. S. 272. 273. *Depping*, Les Juifs dans le moyen age, etc. Paris 1834. 118—123. etc.

‡ *Religious Cabinet* August 1843. p. 457.

them, at Toledo, to obtain possession of the town on the feast of Corpus Christi, and massacre all the Christian inhabitants.*

De Maistre well remarks, in speaking of that critical time, that the greatness of the political disorder demanded "the adoption of means alike violent and energetic",† and it is certain that the popular feeling against the Jews was so strong throughout Spain, that any measure of Ferdinand's, for their destruction, would meet the approval of the people.

The pecuniary necessities of the Spanish Monarchs, however, nearly diverted them from the severity of their purpose. Prescott relates that "the Jews, who had obtained an intimation of the proceedings against them, resorted to their usual crafty policy for propitiating the sovereigns. They commissioned one of their body to tender a donative of thirty thousand ducats towards defraying the expenses of the Moorish war. The negotiation, however, was suddenly interrupted by the Inquisitor General, Torquemada, who burst into the apartment of the palace, where the sovereigns were giving audience to the Jewish deputy, and drawing forth a crucifix from beneath his mantle, held it up, exclaiming, 'Judas Iscariot sold his master for thirty pieces of silver. Your Highnesses would sell him anew for thirty thousand; here he is, take him, and barter him away.' So saying," he "threw the crucifix on the table and left the apartment."‡

* *Carnicero*, l. c. T. I. p. 90.

† *J. de Maistre*, lettres à un gentilhomme Russe sur l' Inquisition Espagnole. Lyon 1837. p. 10.

‡ *Prescott*, l. c. T. II. p. 137—138.—*Llorente*, l. c. T. I. p. 160. n. V.—*Ferreras*, T. VIII. § 242.—Torquemada seems to have been actuated, in this instance, by a

The Sovereigns were overawed by a scene so emphatic, and the edict for the expulsion of the Jews was signed, immediately after, on the thirtieth of March 1492. It decreed, "that all unbaptized Jews, of whatever sex, age, or condition, should depart from the realm by the end of July, next ensuing; prohibiting them from revisiting it, on any pretext whatever, under penalty of death and confiscation of property. It was, moreover, interdicted to every subject, to harbor, succor, or minister to the necessities of any Jew, after the expiration of the term limited for his departure. The persons and property of the Jews, in the mean time, were taken under the royal protection. They were allowed to dis-

purely patriotic spirit. Contemporary authorities agree, with regard to the imminence of the danger to which Spain was exposed from the Jews, and that they brought upon themselves the severity of the government, by their treason and crimes.—Prescott (T. II. p. 151.) acquits the Spanish monarchs of any interested motives in their banishment, and admits (p. 152) that "Spanish writers, without exception, celebrate it as a sublime sacrifice of all temporal interests to religious principles." "The best instructed foreigners," he adds, "commend the act."—It cannot be attributed, however, to religious prejudices alone, that the Jews have been regarded as traitors to every Christian State, in which their influence has been allowed to increase; for they were so notoriously protected by the Holy See, during the middle ages, that Rome was called the "paradise of the Jews," and Sixtus V. was, perhaps, the first Christian monarch, under whom they acquired equal rights with other subjects. Jews have ever been, and ever will be, in every land, a people within the people, looking forward to the great Jewish Empire, to embrace the earth, which is the term of their hopes, and observing a fidelity and loyalty to existing governments, always secondary to this great end. Therefore, they have been regarded as aliens, by Pagan as well as by Christian States, and have been frequently persecuted, because their interests have often conspicuously clashed with those of the countries where they have sojourned. Catholic governments, previous to the sixteenth century, were not less favorable to the Jews than Protestant rulers have been, since that period. Luther advised that "their synagogues should be destroyed, their houses pulled down, their prayer books, the Talmud, and even the books of the Old Testament, be taken from them; and that their rabbis should be forbidden to teach, and compelled to gain their livelihood by hard labor." Philip of Hesse (1518—67) long excluded them from his dominions, and, when they were admitted, it was under the most oppressive conditions. John George II., of Brandenburg, gave them no other option than conversion or exile: and, as late as the last century, Frederic the Great, certainly for no religious motive, banished them from Prussia.—The Emperor Napoleon, in 1807, confirmed to the Jews the same rights with other French citizens, but found it expedient, the very next year, partially to restrict them. The dangers which menaced Spain, in 1492, from their influence and power, were, certainly, greater than have threatened any State, from a like cause, in modern times, and, therefore, neither the severity of Ferdinand, nor the zeal of the Grand Inquisitor, can be said to have been misplaced.

pose of their effects of every kind on their own account, and to carry the proceeds along with them, in bills of exchange, or merchandize not prohibited, but neither in gold nor silver."*

All possible means were employed, until the time appointed for their emigration, to induce them to receive Christian baptism; and Torquemada instructed the Dominicans to labor strenuously for their conversion.† High honors were bestowed upon Israelites who embraced Christianity, and three such converts are named by Prescott, who were made secretaries to the Queen.‡ But, though very many abjured Judaism, the greater part preferred wandering into exile; and Ferreras, who details their numbers, by the respective provinces, gives the entire aggregate of those who left Spain, at thirty thousand families, or about a hundred thousand souls.§

They travelled into Portugal, the Italian peninsula, France, and even as far as England, and a considerable number embarked for the coast of Barbary, where they fell into worse hands than those of the Spaniards, and suffered cruelties, from the roving tribes of the desert, over the loathsome details of which, decency demands that we should cast a veil.

Thousands of Jews returned, in despair, to Spain, and received the Baptism, rather than submit to which they had before preferred any sacrifice; and, as the sincerity of their conversion may well be doubted, new hordes

* *Prescott*, l. c. T. II. p. 139.—*Llorente*, ut supra.

† Hefele. S. 274.

‡ *Prescott*, l. c. T. II, p. 136, note 1.

§ *Ferreras*, T. VIII, § 242.—Hefele, S. 214.—Llorente quotes Mariana falsely, to prove that there were eight hundred thousand Jewish exiles; a number so preposterous that even Prescott rejects five-sixths of it, which still leaves a very exaggerated estimate.—*Prescott*, T. II, 148.

were thus added to the judaizing Christians, against whom the activity of the Inquisition was particularly directed.*

In the meanwhile, the Roman See beheld with horror, this increase of rigor, on the part of the Spanish monarchy, which it was powerless to prevent. Torquemada was three times summoned to Rome, by the Pope, to answer the many accusations which had been made against him; but he, in each instance, evaded compliance, and sent an agent to defend his cause before the Pontiff. The complaints became, at length, so vehement and repeated, that Alexander VI. assigned to him, in 1494, four coadjutors, in the hope of neutralizing his power, and diminishing the cruelties of the Inquisitorial tribunals.†

But, in truth, harsh as Torquemada undoubtedly was, he would have been instantly removed from power, had he failed to co-operate in the policy, which had been adopted by Ferdinand; and it would be unjust to lay upon him the entire odium of the punishments, which were inflicted under his Grand Inquisitorship.

From the time of his appointment, in 1483, until his death, on the sixteenth of September, 1498, a period of fifteen years, about two thousand persons, in the different Spanish provinces, perished in the flames.‡

After his death, Don Diego de Deza, of the order of the Dominicans, Bishop of Jaen, and confessor of Ferdi-

* *Prescott*, l. c. T. II. 144—147 *Ferreras*, T. VIII. 133. seq. *Llorente*, T. I. p. 262. n. VIII. seq. Jost, Th'. VII, S. 86 ff. Hefele, S. 275.

† *Llorente*, l. c. T. l. c. 7, n. VIII. ch. 8. n. VI.

‡ *Mariana, S. J.*, Histor. de rebus Hispan. lib. XXIV. c. 17.—*Pulgar*, Cronica de los reyes catolicos. P. II Cp. 77. p. 137.—Hefele, Der Cardinal Ximenes, S. 328.

nand, was elevated to the office of Grand Inquisitor. His superintendence of the Holy office embraces a period of nine years, until 1507, and includes the most odious portion of the history of the Spanish Inquisition.

At the capitulation of Granada, in 1492, Ferdinand and Isabella had assured to the Moors the "possession of their Mosques" and "free exercise of their religion with all its peculiar rites and ceremonies," together with the privilege of "being judged by their own laws, under their own Cadis, or Magistrates," and "being unmolested in their ancient usages, manners, language and dress;" but subject, in all things, "to the general control of the Castilian Governor."*

The Spanish sovereigns did not, however, consider themselves exempted from the duty of endeavoring to promulgate, by peaceful means, the doctrines of Christianity, among their newly acquired subjects. Two of the most virtuous prelates of the age, Talavera and Ximenes, were commissioned to preach the gospel to them, and to win them over, if possible, to the Catholic faith.† Especial civil priviliges were accorded to all converts, in order that both spiritual and temporal advantages might combine to conciliate the inhabitants of the subjugated provinces, and attract them to the religion of Christ.‡

For several years, the charitable work of these two missionaries, proceeded slowly; but, in 1499, great numbers, in Granada, abandoned Moslemism, and not only many Moorish doctors embraced Christianity, but, as

* *Prescott*, l. c. T. II. p. 94.

† Hefele, Card. Ximenes, VIII. H. S. 53—55. *Prescott*, l. c. T. II. ch. VI. p. 401. et seq.

‡ Hefele, S. 275.

the eighteenth of December, of that year, as many as four thousand disciples, among the common people, were admitted to Baptism,* and so considerable a portion of the inhabitants of Granada were converted, that the city assumed a Christian appearance.†

These proceedings could not be otherwise than distasteful to the more zealous of the Mahommedans; and obstacles of so seditious a nature, were thrown in the way of further conversions, that Ximenes was compelled to subject some of their ringleaders to imprisonment.‡

It is difficult to decide, among the conflicting authorities, how far Ximenes is to be praised or censured, for the boldness he now assumed, in pursuing the work which had been so peaceably commenced. Some of his measures, it must be confessed, were of a character highly calculated to exasperate Moorish prejudices.§ Copies of the Koran, and an immense collection of devotional Mahommedan works, which had been surrendered to him by the new Christians, were publicly burnt,‖ and the *Elchi*, as the children of renegades from Christianity were called, were taken from their parents, to be brought up under Catholic direction.¶

An incident of this kind led to an open revolt, in the Albaycin,** a quarter of Granada inhabited exclusively

* Hefele, S. 55.—*Prescott*, T. II, p. 410.
† Hefele, S. 56. ‡ Hefele. S. 56.
§ Llorente does not blame Ximenes himself, but censures the harsh measures of his subordinates. *Hist. de l. Inquisition*, T. I. p. 335, n. III.
‖ The number of volumes destroyed has been variously estimated, from five thousand to a million. Conde says eighty thousand, in which he is followed by Prescott. Only those works which related to medical science were preserved for the Library of the University, founded by Ximenes, at Alcala. (Vid. *Prescott*, l. c. T. II. p. 413 and 414, note 21.)
¶ *Mariana*, de rebus Hispaniæ, Lib. XXVI, c. V. p. 238.
** *Prescott*, T. II. p. 416—18.—Hefele. S. 59. 60.

by the Moors, which, but for the heroic devotion of Talavera, the Archbishop of the city, who had gained the affection of even the Mahommedans, might have kindled anew the flames of civil discord.†

Both Ferdinand and Ximenes considered the Moors, in Granada, to have violated the treaty of 1492, by this insurrection,† and the Moors themselves, terrified at the consequences, which were likely to ensue from what they had done, were glad to make peace by embracing Christianity. Some migrated to Barbary, but the multitudes in both Granada and its vicinity, either "from fear of punishment, or contagion of example, abjured their ancient superstition, and consented to receive Baptism."‡

The whole number of converts was estimated at about fifty thousand; but the consequences of such an external and compelled Christianity must have been to put the profession of its creed into the mouths of many, who were still, secretly, devoted to the religion of Mahommed. From this period the name of Moriscoes, which was given to those who were baptized, gradually superseded that of Moors, by which they had before been known.§

The warlike inhabitants of the mountainous regions of the Alpuxerras, were excited to open rebellion by this defection of their brethren, in Granada, from the faith of their fathers; and the early part of the year

* Ibid.

† *Prescott*, T. II. p. 421.—Hefele, S. 62.—Prescott considers the charge against the Moors of violating the treaty of 1492, as a masterpiece of monkish casuistry, but Hefele clearly proves that their seditious conduct, even before severity was shown by Ximenes, had fully released the Spanish monarchs from its obligations.

‡ *Prescott*, T. II. p. 422. Hefele, S. 62.

§ Ibid.

1500, was employed by the royal troops in reducing them to submission.*

As soon as tranquillity was re-established, "holy men," it is related by Prescott, "were sent as missionaries, to admonish them, calmly and without violence, of their errors, and to instruct them in the great truths of revelation. Various immunities were also proposed, as an additional incentive to conversion, including an entire exemption to the party of a heavy mulct lately imposed. The wisdom of these temperate measures became every day more visible, in the conversion, not only of the simple mountaineers, but of nearly all the population of the great cities of Baza, Guadix and Almeria, who consented, before the end of the year, to abjure their ancient religion and receive baptism."†

Their pacification was, however, succeeded by a still more sanguinary revolt among the Arab races inhabiting the distant Sierras, on the western borders of Granada.‡ "The rapidly extending apostacy of their countrymen," says Prescott, "exasperated them to such a degree that they broke out in the most atrocious acts of violence; murdering the Christian missionaries, and kidnapping, if report be true, many Spaniards, of both sexes, whom they sold as slaves in Africa."§ It is supposed that they were also leagued with the African Moors, and counted upon the support of their arms, against the Spanish monarchs.‖

It was not until the month of March, 1501, that these

* Hefele, S. 65. *Prescott*, T. II, ch. VII, pp. 425-454.
† *Prescott*, T. II, p. 430.
‡ Hefele, S. 66. *Prescott*, T. II, p. 431.
§ *Prescott*, T. II, p. 432 ‖ Ibid.

new enemies had been compelled to sue for pardon.* Ferdinand granted them an amnesty; but it was only on condition that they should either be baptized, or go into exile. At the same time, he engaged to provide conveyance for those who chose to leave the country, on the payment of ten doblas of gold a head.†

Very few emigrated. The greater part remained and reluctantly became Christians; so that "not a single unbaptized Moor was to be found in the ancient kingdom of Granada."‡ The firmness of their faith was, however, so much doubted, that a royal ordinance, of the twentieth of July 1501, forbade any intercourse between them and the neighboring Moriscoes, who had been converted two years before.§ A few months later, probably by the persuasions of the Grand Inquisitor, Deza, all the Moors in Spain were put upon the same footing, and the famous edict, of February the twelfth, was issued, at Seville, by the Spanish Sovereigns.¶ It commands, "that all unbaptized Moors, in the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, above fourteen years of age if males, and twelve if females, must leave the country by the end of April following; that they might sell their property in the mean time, and take the proceeds in anything save gold and silver and merchandize regularly prohibited." "Obedience was enforced by the penalties of death and confiscation of property."**

The number who left the country was, again, inconsiderable, as the great majority permitted themselves to be baptized.

* Ibid. p. 441. Hefele. S. 66.
† *Prescott*, T. II. p. 442. Hefele, S. 276.
‡ Hefele. S. 276. § Ibid. ¶ Ibid.
** *Prescott*, T. II. pp. 446, 447.

The Grand Inquisitor now counselled Ferdinand and Isabella to introduce a new Tribunal of the Inquisition, into the city of Granada, in order to guard against the apostacy of Moriscoes to Islamism; but the Queen positively refused her consent, and only allowed that the Inquisitors, who already presided at Cordova, might extend their jurisdiction over such of these new converts, as should totally relapse from Christianity.* In fact, the Moriscoes were less distrusted than the Maranos, and their lighter deviations from Christian manners, and even observances, more willingly winked at. The mild and noble hearted Talavera, Archbishop of Granada, exercised much influence over the mind of Isabella, and that prelate had always sought to gain the Moors by conciliatory, rather than oppressive measures.†

The Supreme Inquisitor, was, personally, as Munoz acknowledges in his panegyric of Lebrija, whom Deza persecuted, a kind, good, and learned man;‡ and was one of the few enlightened Spaniards who encouraged Columbus, and contributed to the discovery of the new world;§ but a shadow has fallen over his name, in consequence of the misconduct of his assistant and adviser, Diego Rodriguez de Lucero, Inquisitor at Cordova, who abused the confidence which had been reposed in him, and was guilty of many inexcusable cruelties. Peter Martyr depicted him, in 1506, as "*severus et iracundus a natura, judaico nomini et neophytis infensissimus*," and,

* *Llorente*, l. c. T. 1. p. 333, n. 1.

† Hefele, S. 54, 352.—Talavera was, on his mother's side, of Jewish descent.

‡ *Memorias* de la real academia de la historia, T. III, p. 17, —(Vid. Hefele, XIX. H. S. 350.)

§ *Prescott*, T. II, p. 122.

a year later, proclaimed that his name should not have been called Lucerius; but Tenebrerius.*

An odious process was commenced, at his instigation, against the generous Talavera himself, which had no other cause, than the protection constantly afforded by the Archbishop to the Moriscoes and converted Jews of his Diocese. He was cast into prison, with several of his relations, and was only saved by the vigorous interposition of Pope Julius II, who caused him to be honorably acquitted of all the charges which had been brought against him.†

In Andalusia, many persons, who were themselves suspected of heresy, had adopted a system of falsely denouncing individuals, of all ranks and classes in the community, in hopes that the vast number of prisoners might compel the Spanish monarchs to grant a general amnesty; and this device became the means, under the credulous Lucero, who imagined heresy every where, of involving in prosecutions, nobles, prelates, parents, children, monks, nuns, and the most virtuous inhabitants of the province; and the sanction of the Grand Inquisitor, was, unfortunately, too easily obtained, for the indiscriminate harshness of his subordinate.‡

The entreaties of Archbishop Ximenes, that Ferdinand would interpose, to prevent such disgraceful abuses, were of no avail; but the Archduke Philip, of Austria, who, on the death of Isabella, on the twenty-sixth of November, 1504, succeeded, in right of his wife, to the dominion of Castile, was persuaded, by his representations, to remand Deza to his Diocese of Seville.§ The govern-

* *Petrus Martyr*, Epist. 295. 333, 334, 339, 342.—(Hefele. S. 351.)
† *Llorente*. l. c, T. I. p 342 ‡ Hefele. S. 354. § Ibid.

ment of the Inquisition in his kingdom, the young monarch committed to a board of royal councillors.*

The dissatisfaction, which this last step gave to the Spanish people, caused Ferdinand, after the death of Philip, in 1506, to restore the Grand Inquisitor to his office; but Deza, blinded by his confidence in his unworthy coadjutor to his own interests and those of the throne, immediately renewed the prosecutions, which had been suspended during the two years of his banishment.†

A rebellion, in Cordova, was the consequence, within a month of his reaccession to power. The palace of the Inquisition was stormed by the inhabitants, the prisoners released; and clergy, magistrates and people united in demanding the deposition of Lucero, who had fled, for his life, from the city. Upon the refusal of Deza to accede to this just request, the commotion spread throughout the whole province of Andalusia; and Ferdinand, at length, perceived the necessity of sacrificing both the Grand Inquisitor and his assistant to pacify the people.‡

Deza, therefore, resigned his power into the hands of the King, and, by a royal edict of the eighteenth of May, 1507, Ximenes, who, by a Papal Brief, was, at the same time, elevated to the dignity of a Cardinal, became Grand Inquisitor of Castile and Leon. The Grand Inquisitorship of Arragon was bestowed upon Don Juan Enguera, Bishop of Vich, and, at his death, soon after, was given to a Carthusian monk, named Louis Mercader,

* Ibid. *Prescott*, T. III. p. 250.
† *Llorente*, l. c. T. I. pp. 346, 348. *Ferreras* T. VIII. P. XII. § 203.
‡ *Prescott*, l. c. T. III. p. 249.—Hefele. C. 355.

who died in 1516, when it was again proposed to unite the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of both kingdoms under Cardinal Ximenes. He declined, however, the proffered honor, and recommended Hadrian of Utrecht, subsequently celebrated as Pope Hadrian VI, to preside over the Arragonese tribunals.*

The measures adopted by Cardinal Ximenes, upon his elevation to the supreme Inquisitorial power in Castile, were characterized by united vigor, mercy and wisdom. His first care was to provide adequate instruction for the new converts, and particularly for their children. A large number of pastors were appointed, in each of the principal towns of the kingdom, whose duty consisted in visiting from house to house, imparting catechetical instructions, and kindly teaching old and young how they should act to avoid incurring the distrust of the Inquisition.† A decree was also issued to the Moriscoes and Maranos, which contained full directions for regulating their conduct, so as to escape suspicion of civil or religious disaffection.‡ The consequence of these humane provisions, to which even Llorente cannot entirely forbear doing justice, was a perceptible decrease in the number of prosecutions before the ecclesiastical tribunals.§

Lucero was cast into prison, until he should give account of his barbarous administration,** and the unjust accusations, which had been the source of so much mischief under his rule, were referred by the Cardinal to a Junta, of twenty-two judicious men, over which he him-

* *Llorente*, l. c. T. I. p p. 370. 371.—Hefele S. 355.
† Hefele. S. 356. ‡ Ibid. § *Llorente*, l. c. T. I. p. 360, n. XIV.
** *Llorente*, T. I. p. 350, n. XII.

self presided, who, under the name of the "*Catholic Congregation*,"* spent two years in giving them a mature examination. The result was, that on the ninth of July, 1508, it was decided by the Junta, that the bad character, contradictory evidence, and improbable testimony of the witnesses, made them wholly unworthy of credit; and they decreed that the judgments which had been pronounced, should be effaced from the records of the Inquisition, that the houses, which had been torn down by Lucero, as secret synagogues, should be rebuilt, and the honor of every one, who had been implicated in these detestable processes, be considered as fully reestablished.†

On the first of August, 1508, these resolutions were published, with great solemnity, in the presence of King Ferdinand, and many of the Grandees and Prelates of the Kingdom.‡ Lucero, after languishing for some time in prison, was sent back to his canonicate at Almeria, covered with the ignominy which his barbarous credulity deserved.§

Learning was a title to respect, which Ximenes never failed to recognize, and the academician Munoz, and Antonio, the historian, both do credit to his noble protection of Antonius of Lebrija, or Nebrissa, who had fallen into disgrace with Deza, for comments which the latter considered too free upon translations, in the Vulgate, of isolated texts of Scripture.‖ The Abbot Lerma, the learned Vergara, and other distinguished persons, also enjoyed the countenance of this Grand Inquisitor,¶ who contrasts so gloriously with his predecessors.

* *Llorente*, l. c. T. I. p. 352, n. XIII. † Hefele. S. 357.
‡ Ibid. *Llorente*, l. c. T. 1. p. 352, n. XIV.
‖ Hefele, S. 358.—*Llorente* l. c. T. 1. p. 353, n. XV.
§ Hefele. S. 358. ¶ *Llorente*, l. c. T. II, p. 8. n. II; p. 454.

The severity of Ximenes was turned against the functionaries of the Inquisition themselves, and the strictest account was demanded, of the manner in which they fulfilled their various duties. Officials, who exceeded their allotted limit of power, were imprisoned or dismissed, and unnecessary severity in inflicting punishment, became, under his administration, a heinous crime.* The Secretary of the Grand Inquisitorial Council was himself deposed,† and certain offences into which officers of the tribunal had fallen, were made punishable by death.‡

Some zealot subordinates made complaints to the Pope of the fancied lukewarmness of their Grand Superior; but the answer from Rome was a decided declaration in favor of the benign policy which Ximenes had pursued.§ During the ten years of his rule, we do not doubt that capital punishment was frequently inflicted; still Llorente does not record a single death penalty, although with his usual malignity, he endeavors, by vague accusations of unproved cruelties, to blacken the fame of this great man.¶

His exertions, however, to restore to the Inquisition its primitive character of a purely ecclesiastical tribunal, were, notwithstanding his power and the unrivalled influence he possessed with the King, of no avail whatsoever. On the eleventh of February 1509, he besought Ferdinand that laymen might, thenceforth, be excluded from the councillors appointed to its tribunals by the

* *Llorente*, l. c. T. . p. 358. n. VIII; p. 359. n, X.

† *Llorente*, l. c. T. I. p. 360. n. XI. ‡ *Llorente*, l. c. T. I. p. 359. n. IX.

§ Ibid. Hefele. S. 360. ¶ Hefele. S. 361.

crown. The King replied, that the Inquisitorial council was dependent from the royal will alone, and that he recognized no other rule than his own good pleasure in filling up its vacancies.* Ximenes was compelled to yield; but, during his regency, after the death of Ferdinand, lay councillors were dismissed from office.†

In truth, the Spanish Crown was so jealous of ecclesiastical influence, independently of royal authority, that, on the thirty-first of August, 1509, King Ferdinand issued a decree, that any one who should procure from the Pope, or his Legate, and publish any document prejudicial to the Inquisition, should be punished by death!‡ The religious orders, whose connection with Rome was more immediate, and which were usually exempted from even episcopal authority, were persecuted by that tribunal; and the Augustinians made complaint to the Pope, during Ferdinand's reign, of the grievances to which monks of their community had been subjected.§ We know that at more recent periods, it was used to limit the power of the Jesuits, whom no one will deny to have been among the most zealous supporters of the Catholic Church.¶

* *Llorente*, l. c. T. I. p. 359, seq.—Hefele. S. 360. † Ibid.

‡ Hefele. S. 364. *Llorente*, l. c. T. 1, p. 368, n. III.—Llorente praises this bloody edict, in favor of the Inquisition, because it was issued in opposition to Rome.

§ *Llorente*, l. c. T. I. p. 365, n. IV.

¶ Hefele, S. 280. proves this by the following passage in the celebrated Brief of Clement XIV, in 1773, suppressing their order: Multæ hinc ortæ adversus Societatem querimoniæ, quæ nonnullorum, etiam principum auctoritate munitæ . . fuerunt. In his fuit claræ memoriæ Philippus II, Hispaniarum rex Catholicus, qui tum gravissimas, quibus ille vehementer impellebatur rationes, tum etiam eos, quos ab Hispaniarum Inquisitoribus adversus immoderata Societati privilegia ac regiminis formam acceperat clamores....Sixto V. prædecessori exponenda curavit.

In 1695, the celebrated Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, publishing under the direction of the learned Father Daniel Papebroch, was condemned by the Inquisition, as containing heretical propositions, although it had been praised and supported by the Holy See.—In Portugal, the Inquisition was used to banish the Jesuits from the Kingdom, and the infamous Pombal made it the means of burning F. Malagrida as a heretic.

Only during the short period which elapsed, between the death of Ferdinand and that of Ximenes, decrees from Rome were listened to in Spain. Ferdinand died on the twenty third of January, 1516, and the Regency of Ximenes lasted until his own death, which took place on the eighth of November of the following year; yet, in that interval, three of the four causes, which are all that Llorente has recorded under his entire Grand Inquisitorship, were interfered with or decided upon by the Pope; and had the destinies of Spain continued for many years in his hands, he would, by transferring to the Church the Government of the Inquisition, have removed the reproach which rests upon its name.*

The Spanish Inquisition has often been represented as a despotism of the Church of Rome; but the despotism of the Inquisition, from the time of its foundation until its existence ended, aimed, on the contrary, at crushing the influence of Rome in Spain. The only check upon its cruelty, was the determined perseverance with which the Sovereign Pontiffs interfered in behalf of mercy; and, by remonstrances, mandates of grace, and even excommunication, moderated its excessive rigor. Julius II, and Leo X, nominated special judges in order to rescue prisoners, who appealed to them, from the hands of the Inquisition.† Again and again, did the Popes quash the sentences of the Holy Office, and, again and again, did they or their Nuncios, summon its functionaries before them, and menace them with excommunication, if they oppressed any one that appealed to the Holy See.‡

* Hefele. S. 363—365.

† *Llorente*, l. c. T. I. p. 457. n. V; p. 409. n. VII; p. 411, n. XI; p. 412. n. XIII; p. 414. n. XVII. ‡ Hefele, S. 360.

In some cases, the ban was really laid upon them, by Rome; as, for instance, Leo X, in the year 1519, excommunicated the Inquisitors of Toledo, to the great displeasure of Charles V.* On the fourteenth of December, of the preceding year, the same Pontiff, to prevent the frequency of malicious accusations, had issued a solemn decree, which provided that the death penalty should be incurred by those who might be guilty of the crime of bearing false witness.† Leo wished entirely to reform the Spanish Inquisition; but Charles V, by strenuous efforts, foiled his design, and three Briefs, which had been already issued, were prevented from coming into operation, by the determined hostility of the government.‡ The Spanish monarchs even intercepted Papal indults to the State Inquisitors,§ or else caused sentences of death to be so hastily executed, that the pardon arrived too late;¶ but they still more frequently, positively refused to obey the Pope's commands.**

Sometimes, the merciful endeavors of the Court of Rome were attended with a favorable result; but it was, too frequently, in only preventing lighter punishments, or in saving from infamy the memory of those who were already dead.‖ Every effort was made in be-

* *Llorente*, l. c. T I. p. 413. n. XIV et XV; p. 408, n. V; p. 364, n. II.—As early as 1489, Puigblanch relates (Inquisition Unmasked T. II, p. 237) that Sixtus IV had deposed Father Christopher Galvez, Inquisitor of Valencia.

† *Llorente*, l. c. T. I, p. 417, n. XXII.

‡ *Llorente*, l. c. T. I, p. 396, n. XIII; p. 398, n. XVI; p. 399, n. XVII; p. 414 n. XV. According to Llorente, the Spanish Ambassador counselled Charles to excite the fears of Leo, and thus prevent his interference with the Inquisition, by *affecting to favor Luther*.

§ *Llorente*, l. c. T. I, p. 413, n. XIII.

¶ *Llorente*, l. c. T. I. p. 343. n. VII; p. 409. n. VII; p. 413, n. XV; p. 414, n. XVIII: p. 417, n. XXI.

** *Llorente*, l. c. T. I, p. 403, n. XXVI; p. 283, n. VI; p. 287, n. VII; p. 413, n. XI; p 409, n. XII.

‖ *Llorente*, l. c. T. I, p. 396, n. XII; p. 363, n. II; p. 364, n. III.

half of the children of the condemned; that they might not suffer, in character or in property, for the sins of their fathers; but the papal decrees, in their favor, were rarely respected.*

Even Llorente affirms that the Spanish government made it a point to take the part of the Inquisitors, in every case where the head of the Church enjoined what was displeasing to their tribunal.† In the celebrated case of Bartholomew Caranza, Archbishop of Toledo, who was imprisoned on a charge of heresy, concerning which it would appear to be the province of the Pope to decide, the interference of Pius IV, united with the protest of the council of Trent, were of no avail to procure his liberation.‡

Throughout all Spain, the eyes of every prisoner, Christian, Jew, or Moor, were turned towards Rome for rescue, and they knew that if their appeal was made in vain, it was because the Popes were absolutely devoid of power to help them.§

Aside, even, from the principles of charity, by which the Holy See was governed, it could not but perceive that its own spiritual ascendancy was endangered by the power of an institution, in the immediate service of political absolutism, which included among its aims to break down the credit of the higher clergy.

At the accession to the throne of Ferdinand and Isabella, the clergy, nobility and municipal corporations

* *Llorente*, l. c. T. I, p. 242, n. V et VII; T. II, p. 34, n. XIII.

† *Llorente*, l. c. T. II, p. 387, n. IV.

‡ *Lacordaire*, Apology for the order of St. Dominic, p p. 133. 134 (Vid. *Religious Cabinet*, l. c. p. 462.)—Under Philip II, the Inquisition retained so little of a religious character, that its activity extended to affairs of commerce, war, and finance; and it was even declared heresy to *sell horses or munitions to the French*—

§ *Balmes* p. 208

divided the strength of the state, and, from different causes, were all inimical to the royal prerogatives.* The excessive popularity, which, as Ranke admits, was enjoyed by the Inquisition, among the masses of the people, was because it humbled this haughty ecclesiastical and civil aristocracy, by whom they had been, ever, more oppressed, than by the Crown.† By the higher ranks, on the contrary, the Inquisition was hated, and particularly by the Prelates, more than any other class; because they were involved in endless processes with that Institution.‡

It could not escape the watchfulness of the Popes, that the tendency, in all parts of Europe, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was to centralize power in the hands of individuals; and there is no element, which more directly inclines to subvert the influence of the Catholic Church over its subjects, than their separation from its head, by the will of absolute monarchs. It was, therefore, for the interest of Catholicity, that the intermediate authorities, which the State was striving to destroy, should be upheld; and the Holy See could never countenance a secular purpose, like that of Spain, of employing ecclesiastical weapons to undermine the ascendancy of the Church.

That this was the object of the Spanish Inquisition, has been perfectly recognized by Protestant as well as Catholic historians. Ranke remarks, with a fairness for which he is seldom to be commended: "The power of the Sovereign was completely consolidated by the In-

* Ranke, a. a. O. Thl. 1. S. 215. 216. Hefele, S. 279. 280.
† Ranke, a. a. O. Thl. 1. S. 244.
‡ Hefele, S. 280.

quisition; for it gave him an authority from which no Grandee, nor Archbishop could escape. . . . . It was one of those spoils of priestly power, such as administering the grand commanderies, and filling the episcopal sees, which had served to aggrandize the Spanish government; it was, above all things, in its spirit and object, a political institute. It was for the interest of the Pope to withstand it, and he did so as often as he could; but it was for the interest of the King to preserve its power undiminished. . . . . The Inquisitors were functionaries of the King. He had the right to appoint, and to dismiss them; like other offices, the courts of the Inquisition were subject to royal visitations. It was in vain Cardinal Ximenes objected to the appointment of a layman on the part of King Ferdinand the Catholic, to the Council of Inquisitors. 'Do you not know,' replied Ferdinand, 'that if this Council possesses any judicial powers, it is from the King it derives them?'"*

Professor Leo, equally unfavorable to Catholics, expresses himself in a similar manner: "By the Inquisition," says he, "which was an ecclesiastical institute, entirely dependant on the Crown, and was levelled at clergy and laity alike, Isabella contrived to bend the nobles and churchmen of Castile to her will."†

Guizot, an unprejudiced authority, remarks, "the Inquisition was, at first, more political than religious, and destined rather for the maintenance of order than the defence of faith."‡

Havemann, professor in the Protestant University of

* Ranke, Fürsten und Völker, Bd. 1. S. 242—245. (Vid. Hefele S. 283.)

† Leo, Weltgeschichte, Bd. II. S. 431.

‡ Guizot, Cours d'histoire moderne, Paris 1828-30. V. lec. 11.

Goettingen, has recently written: "The King appointed the Presidents of the Inquisition, and drew up their instructions. The confirmation of the Holy Father was only retained to preserve ecclesiastical forms. No Grandee, no Archbishop, not even the Knights of the three powerful orders, who had long, by means of their *Fueros*, successfully asserted their independence, could withdraw themselves from this tribunal.*

We could add more testimonies of a like nature, but these are sufficient to prove the purely State character of the Institution of which we are treating, and its antagonism to Rome.

During the long reign of the Emperor Charles V, the Inquisition continued to exercise its power; although the continued absences of the monarch from Spain prevented his devoting to it the attention which it had received from Ferdinand and Isabella.

After the death of Ximenes, Cardinal Hadrian united once more, under his mild rule, the Grand Inquisitorships of Arragon and Castile.† Upon his elevation to the Papacy, in 1522, he was succeeded by Manrique, who emulated the clemency of his immediate predecessors. Llorente confesses that although he erected, in 1586, a new tribunal at Granada, where he discovered that scarcely seven Moriscoes had persevered in the Catholic faith, still he caused the Apostates to be treated with the greatest possible indulgence.‡ Pope Clement VII. took care that they should receive solid religious instruction,§ and the Emperor ordered that proper

* Bei Hefele, S. 284-285.
† *Llorente*, l. c. T. l. p p. 370. 371.
‡ *Llorente*. l. c. T. l. p p. 439. 440. n. VIII—X.
§ *Llorente*, l. c. T. l. p. 447. n. III.

ty should not be confiscated from their families, and that none of those who had relapsed into Paganism, should be punished by death.*

They were treated with equal benignity by Philip II, under whom not a single Morisco was executed for having renounced the Christian faith.† The severity which they drew upon themselves, towards the end of his reign, and which resulted in their entire banishment by his successor, in 1609, was occasioned by a series of revolts against the crown, in which they endeavored to establish, in Granada, a throne for the descendants of their ancient Moorish Kings.‡

The vigilance of the Inquisition was, however, awakened, under the reigns of Charles V, and Philip II, by the appearance, in Europe, of a new element of danger to the power of Catholic sovereigns; and its activity was mainly employed, during the sixteenth century, in excluding Protestantism from the Spanish peninsula.

As we exclude from our remarks every point, which might seem to offer a ground of controversy, we avoid entering, here, into the details of a question, to which we would have, otherwise, gladly invited examination; but one observation may be ventured upon the course pursued by Philip II, concerning which there can be no reasonable foundation for difference. However highly the advantages of Protestantism may be rated, it cannot be denied that the intellectual license, which was its immediate consequence, among the common people, led, in every country where it was introduced, to civil discord.

* *Llorente*, l. c. T. I. p. 448. n. V. VI. And this, notwithstanding that Francis I when a prisoner at Madrid, had told Charles that tranquillity could never be restored in Spain, if the Moors and Moriscoes were not expelled.

† *Llorente*, l. c. T. I. p. 450. n. IX; p. 451. n. XI.

‡ *Llorente*, l. c. T. I. p. 429. n. VIII.

To speak neither of the thirty years war, nor of the bloody epoch of the Huguenots in France, nor of the civil dissensions in England, Scotland and Germany; the excesses of the Anabaptists, the sanguinary debaucheries of John of Leyden, and the revolting enormities of the peasant war, called forth, not only from Catholics but from Protestants, strenuous appeals to the European governments, for a warlike interposition to restore public order.

Martin Luther, with his usual boldness, cried out to the German princes, to shoot down the Suabian peasants who had raised, in the name of the Bible, the standard of revolt.* Moreover, each one of the numerous Protestant sects which sprang into existence, anathematized its predecessors; and the strange spectacle was witnessed of rulers, who, within twenty years, in the same land, as Calvinists, persecuted Lutherans, and afterwards as Lutherans oppressed Calvinists,† with penalties, which, at least, equalled any ever inflicted by the Inquisition.

The instincts of Spaniards, as of Italians, have ever been intrinsically averse to the enthronement of individual judgment, in the stead of external spiritual authority, and, with them, Protestantism could never mean, religious emancipation, but an overthrow of civil order and

*This was the more censurable, because they had been excited to insurrection by Luther himself. His language, in the original, shows the character of the man.—„Ein Aufrührischer ist nicht werth, daß man ihm mit Vernunft antworte — mit der Faust muß man ihm antworten, daß der Schweiß zur Nase ausgehe. Die Bauren haben nicht hören wollen, darum habe man ihnen die Ohren aufkneubeln müssen mit Büchsensteinen, daß die Köpfe in die Luft gesprungen."

† In 1563, when the Elector Frederic III, became a Calvinist, he compelled his Lutheran subjects, in the Palatinate, to follow his example, and exiled those who refused to accept the Heidelberg Catechism. Thirteen years later, in 1583, his successor, forced the nation, under the heaviest penalties, to return again to Lutheranism! Great numbers of similar examples could be cited.

social restraint, as repugnant to the more conservative among the reformers, as to Catholics themselves. Michael Servetus, a Spaniard, who became infected with the new opinions, escaped from the punishments of the Inquisition, with which he was threatened, to be burnt at Geneva, by John Calvin, whose severity elicited the approbation of such men as Beza and Melancthon, and was defended by himself in an especial work.*

Under such circumstances, the government of Spain might well be jealous of the introduction into the peninsula, of a principle, whose first fruits were anything

† Entitled; Fidelis expositio errorum M. Serveti et brevis eorum refutatio, ubi docetur, *jure gladii exercendos esse* hereticos. *Beza* also composed a work, *de hæreticis a magistratu civili puniendis*. *Melancthon* wrote to Calvin that he fully approved of what he had done in the matter of Servetus, and that his conduct merited the gratitude of all posterity.

Our Protestant friends usually excuse the persecutions of their founders by asserting that they were in a "*state of transition*" from Catholic habits, of which they did not become immediately divested. They make the same argument serve for the differences in doctrine between themselves and the heretics of the Middle Ages, and of the sixteenth century. They forget that this is, at least, an admission of a constant succession of errors. Divine truth is ever one and the same, and so are divine precepts. The doctrines of consubstantiation or impanation, are no nearer the symbolic eucharistic theory, than is transubstantiation. It would be no progress from Trinitarianism to Unitarianism to assert that there are *two* persons in the Divinity. Exchange of errors in faith, is not progress, and cannot be called transition to truth, any more than twice three make five, can be called a medium to accuracy, from twice three make four. The right of persecution is a corollary of spiritual *infallibility;* and is the application, by the State, of the natural law of self-preservation, from evils which it has been taught by the Church *to know infallibly* are pernicious to society. Blackstone teaches (*Commentaries*, B. 1. c. 1. p. 125,) that the "civil liberty of a member of society, is his natural liberty so far restrained by human laws as is necessary and expedient for the general advantage of the public." Therefore, if the lawgiver possesses the *absolute certainty* that opposition to a divine revelation or command affects society deleteriously, it is as much his duty to prevent it as any other crime. Protestant States punish for disregarding the sanctity of Sunday; but it is a mere question of police whether this is a greater evil than public teaching of false doctrine, promulgating a mutilated translation of the Bible, or ridiculing the character of glorified Saints. In fact, correct practice regarding these matters, if *certainty* of truth concerning them, may be had, must be as beneficial to society as the observance of Sunday.——The theoretic difference between Protestants and Catholics is, that the former assume to punish, without pretending to know infallibly that their penal laws are not unjust, which is tyranny; while the latter derive their right of persecution from the *infallible certainty* that what they suppress is a public evil. Practically, Catholics are intolerant of what they *know* to be blasphemous or erroneous; but Protestant persecution is against their own fundamental principle of the inalienable right of private judgment in matters of belief, and in spite of the acknowledged danger of suppressing tenets they may afterwards see fit to adopt. Thus Cranmer burnt Lambert and Askew, for the very opinions for which he himself afterwards suffered.

else than submission to the state authority. The learned Spanish writer Balmes, addressing his countrymen, says of that time, "The immediate effect of the introduction of Protestantism into Spain would have been, as in other countries, civil war; and this war would have been more fatal to us than to other people, because the circumstances were much more critical for us. The unity of the Spanish Monarchy could not have resisted the shocks and disturbances of intestine dissension; the different parts were so heterogeneous among themselves and were so slightly united, that the least blow would have parted them. The Moors were still in sight of our coast; the Jews had not had time to forget Spain: certainly both would have availed themselves of the conjuncture to raise themselves by means of our discords. On the policy of Philip depended not only the tranquillity, but perhaps even the existence of the Spanish monarchy.... He is now accused of having been a tyrant; if he had pursued another course, he would have been taxed with incapacity and weakness."*

The rigor of the Inquisition was mitigated in proportion as the danger of Spain's being invaded by Protestantism decreased. At the end of the last century, it was only a shadow of what it had been. Its procedure became milder, in accordance with the increase of leniency in the criminal legislation of Europe.†

Under the Emperor Ferdinand VI, in the middle of the eighteenth century, only Free Masons, Bigamists, Blasphemers, Sorcerers and Witches, were subjected to

* *Protestantism compared with Catholicity*, ch. XXXVII, pp. 216, 217.

† Ibid. p. 218.

its persecution,* and during the long reign of Charles III, from 1759 to 1788, but four individuals were punished by death. † Capital punishment was inflicted by the Spanish Inquisition, for the last time, in 1781: just one year before a witch was burnt in the protestant Canton of Glarus.‡ Its activity was, from that time, confined to the censure of political and religious books of a suspicious nature.

Napoleon abolished it in 1808; but it was re-established as a political institution, in 1814, upon the restitution of Ferdinand VII. to the throne, and did not finally cease to exist until his death, in 1830.

It may, perhaps, be proper, before closing our subject, to say a word concerning the application of torture, and the terrible *autos da fé* by which each one of us has been scared in his time. "Dreadful," says Hefele,§ "is the conception we form of an auto da fe (actus fidei) that is, an act of faith, as if it were nought else but a prodigious fire and a colossal *spit*, round which every quarter of a year the Spaniards sat, like cannibals, to revel in the roasting and broiling of some hundred wretches. But I will take the liberty to assert, that, in the first place, an auto da fe did not consist in burning and slaying, but partly in the acquittal of those falsely accused,‖ partly in the reconciliation, of those repentant, with the church; and that there were many autos da fe, at which nothing burned but the wax taper, which the penitent, in token of his rekindled light of faith, bore in his hand.

* Hefele, bei Welte und Weßer, T. V. S. 657. † Ibid. p. 658.
‡ Hefele, bei Welte und Weßer, T. V. S. 654.
§ Der Cardinal Ximenes, XVII. H. S. 322. 323.—For this extract the translation has been used in the Dublin Review of October, 1852.
‖ *Llorente*, l. c. T. II. p. 322

Llorente, for example, relates, in proof of the great zeal of the Inquisition, an auto da fe at Toledo, on the twelfth of February, 1486, at which not fewer than seven hundred and fifty culprits were punished. Among all these, however, *not one* was executed, and their penalty was nothing more than a public Church penance.* A second great auto da fe again took place at Toledo, on the second of April, of the same year, where there were nine hundred victims, and of these nine hundred, not a single individual received capital punishment. A third auto da fe on the first of May, of the same year, comprehended seven hundred and fifty persons; and a fourth, on the first of December following, as many as nine hundred and fifty; yet not a single execution occurred. Altogether, three thousand three hundred persons must, at that time, at Toledo, have done ecclesiastical penance, while twenty-seven only were sentenced to death; and Llorente would certainly not misstate the numbers to favor the Inquisition."†

Very few processes, recorded by Llorente, resulted in the death of the prisoner; although he, notoriously, sought out the severest cases, and depicted the Holy Office, which he hated, in the blackest possible colors. The Spanish people, he confesses, looked upon the autos da fe as acts of *grace*, and not of cruelty, and, therefore, all classes, sexes, and ranks, took part in those exhibitions.‡

The stories that have been told about rackings and tortures, are partially true; although they have been greatly exaggerated. It would be easy to show that the Inquisition was milder, in the application of torture

* *Llorente*, l. c. T. I. p. 238, n. V. et. VI.
† *Llorente*, l. c. T. I. p. 238, n. Vid VII. ‡ *De Maistre*, l. c. p. 86, 87.

than any purely civil tribunal.* The criminal jurisprudence of people, as enlightened as the ancient Athenians and Romans, and of every other land up to nearly our own period, has regarded torture as allowable, and been blemished by its usage; and no nation or body of Christians has escaped the influence of the age which had recourse to it. The Spanish Inquisition is subject to this reproach, of having resorted to torture; but, it is, because it existed at a period when it was used to a much more odious extent, by every other tribunal in Europe.

We have endeavored, without exaggeration, and without extenuation, to trace the Inquisition, through a period of six centuries, from its first establishment, by Gregory IX, to the beginning of the age in which we live.

It will be remembered that we distinguished, in the most marked manner, between two elements, which have been ever united in the history of persecution by the Catholic Church, viz; the claim made by the Church of infallible certainty that all its teachings are true. that all other teachings are false, and that it is endowed with the right to exclude and punish pernicious doctrine: and the principle, *cujus regio illius religio*, inherent in every State, for preserving unity of belief among its subjects.

The first of these elements, guided by the sublimely merciful spirit of the Divine Founder of Christianity. prevailed, throughout the Catholic world, during the

* It was the only criminal court in Europe in which the application of torture was limited. Llorente (l. c. T. 1. p. 445, n. X.) acknowledges that after the year 1537, it was almost entirely forbidden against the Moriscoes; and Hefele proves that the Inquisition was incomparably more merciful in its use than any other tribunal of the age. (p. 306—7.)

first epoch of the Inquisition. It checked the savage barbarity of State instincts, interposed a barrier between millions of souls and temporal and eternal destruction, and is the glory and pride of the Catholic Church. It was planned by the wisest of Popes, sanctioned by the most devout and merciful of Saints, ruled over by the holiest and most disinterested of religious corporations, and accomplished ends which Pagan Emperors and Christian Kings had, during long centuries, vainly sought to attain. Those who are called its victims evoked upon it the benedictions of heaven, and its mild severity emulated the spirit with which the Apostles had despotically preached *one* doctrine—for the salvation of the human race—from which they permitted no dissent.

In the second epoch of the Inquisition, which has formed the subject of this evening's consideration, the harsh rules of State policy obtained the victory over the unchangeably merciful principles, which have ever guided the Christian Church. Judaism and Mahommedanism had acquired an ascendancy in the Spanish Empire, which threatened its overthrow. The danger was so imminent, in the year 1472, that human probabilities were in favor of a speedy reduction of the Spanish peninsula to a similar state with Persia, Turkey, and the northern provinces of Africa. The chivalrous and high minded nobility of Castile and Arragon, pampered by prosperity, and political independence, encouraged rather than repressed the evil, and the immense wealth of Catholic Dignitaries had acquired for them an independence of the crown which monarchs, like Ferdinand

and Isabella, could not but view with jealousy and wish to diminish. The pestilence of Judaism had, moreover, to such an extent, infected the hierarchy, and corrupted the Grandees of Spain, that their ranks were filled with secret enemies of the Church, who were equally hostile to the Crown.

Truly, as the celebrated De Maistre says, a desperate remedy was required for so desperate an evil! Still, we cannot but believe, that, had the mild policy of the Church of Rome prevailed, Spain might have been saved, as France and Italy were in the thirteenth century, without such an immense effusion of blood. The divine instincts, which governed the Holy Pontiffs, would have been blessed by the ever watchful providence of God, who loves mercy and rejoices in crowning with success those principles of charity, which caused to descend on earth the unbounded love of a Savior in the person of Jesus Christ.

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